Daily Report

East Europe

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Karadzic Wants Peace Talks Moved Back to Geneva

AU1602114293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic, told the SRNA agency that he expected the pressure on Serbs during the peace talks in New York to continue, and that the Serbian delegation will propose that the talks be held in Geneva rather than New York.

The Serbian side is not on equal footing in New York. The United States should feel ashamed for treating the Serbian delegation as criminals without any proof, Karadzic said.

We expect the international community to behave in a balanced way toward all sides involved in the conflict, and we expect that an attempt will be made to achieve what is possible, the president of the Serbian Republic said. Karadzic said that regarding the word possible he had in mind negotiations on a military document, while the talks about maps would be left for some more peaceful times.

NATO Commander Sees 'Role' in FRY Settlement

LD1602154693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1351 GMT 16 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (TANJUG)—"The crisis in Yugoslavia can be settled only by political, not by military means," NATO commander for Europe General John Shalikashvili said on Tuesday [16 February].

He told a press conference in Budapest that the peace plan proposed by the co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, was the best solution at present and that it was "actively supported by the new U.S. Administration."

At the end of a three-day official visit to Hungary, General Shalikashvili said that NATO was ready to take steps to support the plan and influence the confronted sides to accept it.

Shalikashvili insisted on a political settlement of conflicts in former Yugoslavia and made it clear that he saw a NATO role within that framework alone.

In his opinion, NATO could engage in a peace-keeping mission similar to that of the United Nations blue helmets, primarily because the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict threatens to spread to other areas. He especially pointed at Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija, which is populated mostly by ethnic Albanians.

Asked what NATO would do if the conflict spread to Serbia's multi-ethnic northern province of Vojvodina (which has a large Hungarian minority) and whether Hungary has been given any guarantees of its safety, General Shalikashvili said that no special guarantees have been mentioned and reiterated that a political solution of the Yugoslav crisis would be the best.

Delors Criticizes U.S. Response to Peace Plan

AU1502203893 Paris AFP in English 2026 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Paris, Feb 15 (AFP)—European Commission President Jacques Delors on Monday rapped Washington for indecision over the Geneva peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina, warning that a Balkan war was now possible "within two months".

If the "however imperfect" plan for the ravaged republic, put forward by U.N. mediator Cyrus Vance and European Community mediator Lord Owen, had been accepted from the start by the United States, "we would have sent a signal to the belligerents that war does not pay", he said in an interview with Europe 1 radio.

"Now it is possible that we will have a Balkan war within two months".

Sometimes politics was "the art of choosing between two evils", he said, noting that "there is more fighting in Yugoslavia now than there was two weeks ago".

Earlier this month President Bill Clinton, newly-installed in the White House, announced a period of reflection before agreeing conditionally to the plan presented by Vance and Owen, under which Bosnia-Hercegovina is to be divided into 10 largely autonomous provinces.

At that time, Delors said, "we had the means of turning the tide. Now the tide is going the other way, leading towards terror, the rejection of other people, and so on. ... An element of peace is a blocking element. Now the way things are going, we could have a Balkan war within two months".

Vance, Owen 'Pressure' Croatia To End Offensive

LD1702101093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0922 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] New York, Feb 17 (TANJUG)—International mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, who co-chair an international conference on former Yugoslavia, told a delegation of the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.) that every possible pressure was being brought to bear on Croatia to withdraw its army to behind the U.N.-drawn truce line, to the positions it held before its offensive on the U.N. protected territories on January 22.

Sources close to the R.S.K. delegation quote Vance and Owen as saying they are willing to ask for a renewal of the mandate of the U.N. peace-keeping force for another year and are convinced the U.N. Security Council will support their recommendation and probably increase

the numerical strength of the force. It remains to be seen whether or not their task will be changed in any way.

The R.S.K. delegation, too, insisted that the peacekeepers' mandate be extended by another year.

The term of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR), deployed in former Yugoslavia to keep the peace until a political solution to the crisis is found, is due to expire shortly.

UNHCR Appeals To Open Aid to Muslims

LD1202155493 Bern Swiss Radio International in English 1500 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], Sadako Ogata, has urged Serbian forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina to open aid routes to blockaded Muslim towns in the east of the republic. The UNHCR appeal, in a letter to Bosnia's Serbian leader, Radovan Karadzic, came after Bosnia's Muslim government said it would refuse to distribute food in Sarajevo until aid supplies reach the blockaded areas. The letter condemned the Serbian blockade as a campaign to force Muslims to leave eastern Bosnia. A UNHCR official in Geneva also criticized the Muslim government for refusing to distribute readily available food, saying it was playing with lives of Sarajevo residents unnecessarily.

Hungary, Poland, Ukraine Sign 'Euroregion' Pact

LD1502094093 Budapest MTI in English 1808 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 14 (MTI)—A statement on cooperation between nations living in the Carpathians-Euroregion, the joining border regions of Hungary, Poland and the Ukraine, was signed by the three foreign ministers in Debrecen, eastern Hungary, on Sunday [14 February].

Geza Jeszenszky of Hungary, Krysztof Skubiszewski of Poland and Anatoliy Zlenko of the Ukraine on behalf of their governments supported the endeavour of local governments and state administrations to form Carpathians-Euroregion in the Carpathians and Tisza River regions.

After the foreign ministers had signed the statement, local governments and public administration leaders signed the Carpathians-Euroregion founding document. At present, Slovakia joined the cooperation as an associate only, but, as Slovak Government representative Igor Kosire said, border regions involved expect to receive a government support this year for participating in the cooperation.

Present at the signing of the two documents was Council of Europe Secretary-General Catherine Lalumiere.

Representatives of Romanian regions bordering Hungary, and the mayors of Kosice and Presov, Slovakia, attended the signing as observers.

The cooperation aims at expanding bilateral ties and working out cultural, educational, health care, environmental protection and scientific projects.

The forming of the Carpathians-Euroregion proves that countries having freed themselves from communism are capable of genuine cooperation, said Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky before signing the founding document.

The Carpathian region, which lost its significance in the 20th century, now has to return to the heritage of the past, Jeszenszky said. "We have to discover again the elements of our relationship", he said. He added a message of the Debrecen meeting is that the new Europe will be a continent of nations and regions in future.

Council of Europe Secretary-General Catherine Lalumiere said the regional agreement will contribute to easing tensions and creating stability. At the same time, she warned agreements between local communities, extending over borders, may not be concluded "against the will of governments". She said it was very important the cooperation be properly understood beyond the borders as well, so that it "won't taint but improve relations".

Asked by MTI about the possible joining of Romania to the cooperation, she said Romania has to get out of its own isolation, has to open up towards Europe. The road to European integration leads via regional cooperations similar to this one, she added.

Polish Foreign Minister Krysztof Skubiszewski said, by the Debrecen statement, "the door has been opened, now it is Romania's turn." Skubiszewski said the forming of the Carpathians-Euroregion was "extending the hands of friendship", and welcomed it on behalf of his government.

The government of the Ukraine is ready to take part in regional cooperation, said Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko.

At a press briefing after the conference, Zlenko said "Ukraine would not mind taking part in the work of the Visegrad group", i.e., the cooperation of the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia.

The wish to take part in the Visegrad cooperation was also confirmed by Slovak foreign affairs official Igor Kosire, who said, although at present, Slovakia joined the Carpathians-Euroregion cooperation as an associated member only, the Slovak Government is expected to approve the project this year. At that stage, six Slovak border counties will take part in the cooperation.

The conference was also welcomed by East-West Studies Institute president John Edwin Mroz.

The Carpathians-Euroregion Council held its founding session in Debrecen Sunday evening.

Czechs, Poles Ready To Share in FRY Intervention

LD1602151393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1351 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Prague, February 16 (TANJUG)—The Czech Republic and Poland would be ready to take part in a possible military intervention in former Yugoslavia—this is the joint stand of their respective Defence Ministers Antonin Baudys and Janusz Onyszkiewicz.

Minister Baudys said that the two countries would find it difficult to take part in combat units, but were ready to help with their units engaged in the rear.

The two defence ministers on Monday discussed military cooperation following the disintegration of the Czechoslovak Federation.

Both the Czech Republic and Poland are primarily interested in establishing relations with NATO, as part of their plans for membership in existing Western integrations, the two defence ministers said.

Hungarian-Slovak Talks on Dam End Without Result

LD1602231793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] The latest round of Hungarian-Slovak talks on Gabcikovo has ended unsuccessfully in Brussels. After the talks, State Secretary Janos Martonyi spoke to Laszlo Mecs.

[Begin recording] [Martonyi] No agreement was reached between the sides. The basic reason for this is that the Slovak delegation was not empowered to make fundamental political decisions. It was thus not able definitively to accept the text of the joint submission, the declaration to be submitted to The Hague International Court, although this text is ready. In explanation, they referred to the fact that the Czech parliament has not yet made a final decision on the issue of Czech legal succession.

[Mecs] Will there be further talks, or can these talks be considered as finished from the point of view of Brussels?

[Martonyi] On the part of Brussels, the series of talks are not to be considered finished. The parties agreed that they will take the questions still open to the highest political level, and the committee is to continue its endeavors to bring about an agreement.

[Mecs] Is there a date for the next round of talks?

[Martonyi] No. As I mentioned, the parties agreed that the open questions will be taken to the highest political level. It is up to the highest political level to weigh this up and decide whether it accepts the proposals now put by the committee, or whether it continues to reject these proposals. As far as we are concerned, the Hungarian stance can easily be forecast; up to now we have accepted these proposals and continue to do so. [end recording]

Slovak Defense Official Views Talks With Czechs

AU1602171293 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 12 Feb 93 pp 1,2

["fa"-signed interview with Igor Urban, Slovak Defense Ministry state secretary, in Bratislava on 10 February: "Understanding on Both Sides"]

[Text] A Slovak Defense Ministry delegation led by State Secretary Igor Urban returned from its first "foreign" visit—to Prague—on Wednesday [10 February] evening. We asked Urban for a brief interview.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Who initiated this meeting?

[Urban] The visit took place on the basis of a personal invitation from Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys. It was the first official meeting between the most senior representatives of the Czech and Slovak ministries and armies since the breakup of the common state. Head of the Slovak Defense Ministry Office Jan Danko and Slovak Army Commander Major General Julius Humaj took part in the talks on behalf of Slovakia. The Czech side was represented by First Deputy Defense Minister Jiri Pospisil, Chief of the Czech Army General Staff Lieutenant General Karel Pezl, and Deputy Defense Minister Miroslav Kalousek.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What did you discuss?

[Urban] We took with us the texts of 20 draft treaties regulating mutual relations between the two ministries. Many issues have remained open since the division of the common army. Issues such as storing military material and munitions on the territory of the other state, accommodating and financing military students, repairing military hardware, the participation of Slovak and Czech soldiers in the UN peacekeeping forces, and so on.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Did any problems crop up in drafting these documents?

[Urban] This may sound unbelievable, but—as with dividing the common army—there were no misunderstandings. Together with our Czech partners, we expressed agreement with the contents of the draft treaties. These documents will merely be finalized in harmony with the payments agreement between the Czech and Slovak Republics and will be signed soon by the two defense ministers.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Did you reach a specific agreement?

[Urban] We signed a protocol on this joint meeting and we agreed on the statute for the liquidation commission, which has been in existence for about a month.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The recent partition of the common state—and, within its framework, of the army—has taken by surprise many officers and warrant officers who were unable to make a quick decision on whether to join the Czech Army or the Slovak Army....

[Urban] This is a very sensitive issue—one that did not only concern individuals, but also their families who spent many years in a specific area. We appreciate that it is hard for a career soldier to leave the place where he has an apartment, where his wife has a good job, and where his children go to school. The situation was the same on both sides. More than 8,500 Slovak career soldiers were still living in the Czech Republic in December, and around 2,800 Czech soldiers were living in Slovakia. Therefore, we adopted the principle that the doors to the Slovak Army would be open to everyone. It was not so simple in the Czech Republic. We are pleased that, following our talks in the Defense Ministry in Prague on 10 February, the Czech Republic also wants to apply a similar course of action. All those serving until now in the Slovak Republic will be accepted into their army without unnecessary delays and without preliminary interviews and—vice versa—those Slovaks who want to continue serving their homeland at home will be accepted into the Slovak Army.

Czechs, Slovaks Divide CSFR Embassy Properties

AU1202114093 Prague CTK in English 1412 GMT 10 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 10 (CTK)—None of the three buildings proposed by the Czech Republic for the location of the Slovak Embassy in Prague suits the Slovak Foreign Ministry, said director of the ministry's economic and business section, Dusan Tomka, at a press conference here today.

Tomka said that the Czech side will receive the ministry's official position together with a request for a substitute solution Thursday [11 February].

Two of the three proposed locations are situated near Prague Castle, in an area which houses many embassies.

In the first phase, the Slovak Embassy in Prague will need approximately ten offices for 25 workers, 15 of them diplomats, Tomka said. He noted that one of the buildings proposed by the Czech side is suitable for about 150 people.

Tomka said that each of the three buildings would be fully functional and representative after reconstruction, but that each of them would require an investment of at least 50 million to 60 million crowns (approximately 2 million USD [U.S. dollars]). Such costs are too high for the Slovak Foreign Ministry, which has budgeted 1.25 billion crowns (43 million USD) for 1993, Tomka said.

He said the Slovak Embassy in Prague should open March 1.

The property of the former Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, valued at 18.9 billion crowns (650 million USD), has already been divided, Tomka added.

The former ministry's property in 66 countries abroad, representing 258 buildings, was divided according to a 2:1 ratio, though in certain cities, such as Tokyo, Washington, Stockholm and Rome, the Czech and Slovak sides will have to conclude agreements on the joint-sharing of former Czechoslovak buildings, which are not divisible.

Movable assets valued at over 230 million crowns (8.1 million USD) remain on the territory of the former Federation and their division has not yet been settled.

Slovak Group To Aid Compatriots in Czech Republic

AU1602135493 Prague CTK in English 2051 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 12 (CTK)—Representatives of the apolitical citizens' group Community of Slovaks, which is holding its congress here, said today that they want to closely cooperate with Slovakia's ambassador to the Czech Republic on resolving problems faced by Slovaks in the Czech Republic.

The group is especially anxious to resolve outstanding citizenship issues faced by Slovaks resident in the Czech Republic. They stated that Slovaks who do not take Czech citizenship may be threatened with deportation, and called the situation chaos.

The Community of Slovaks, with close links to the Slovak cultural organisation Matica Slovenska, was registered with the Czech Interior Ministry on December 29, 1992. Its president is 42 year-old businessman Jaroslav Skorik, a Slovak living in Prague.

Roman Zelenay, an adviser to Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, took part in the congress today. He said the Slovak Government was ready to lend any assistance it could to Slovaks here. Zelenay estimates that some 600,000 to 800,000 Slovaks currently reside in the Czech Republic, making it the country's largest ethnic minority.

Mitterrand Cables Berisha on Kosovo Issue

AU1202150193 Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 12 (ATA)—The French President Francois Mitterrand, in a message to President Berisha, affirmed the will of France for the solution of the question of Kosovo in the context of the commitments stemming from the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter. He was also for the creation of a system of international guarantees and the adoption of the measures to create confidence at regional level.

Serbian Killing of Nationals Protested

AU1602154193 Tirana ATA in English 1119 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 15 (ATA)—The newspaper REPUBLIKA carries a protest of the Albanian Committee of Helsinki, which says:

The Albanian Committee of Helsinki energetically protests against the Serbian authorities for the tragic event of February 4, 1993. On that day, at 1825 hrs in a near distance in the border zone of Qafe Morina, the sector of the border marker C 4-10, the Serbian border forces killed 3 Albanian nationals: Ardian Ram Ibro, 23, Mehmet Ram Ibro, 35, and Perparim Man Iberhasa, 25.

The Albanian Committee of Helsinki forcefully protests against this criminal practice, which the Serbian authorities are incessantly continuing, especially at the Albanian border. Such a practice flagrantly runs counter to international rules on the illegal passing of the border. Such rules exclude any extreme measure which may take people's lives.

We appeal to international opinion to raise its voice against this inhuman practice, which is an expression of the aggressive policy of the Serbian authorities.

Greek Police Continue Forcibly Deporting Refugees

AU1602170293 Tirana ATA in English 1308 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 16 (ATA)—The branch of Gjirokaster Public Order reports that on February 13, 324 and 207 Albanian refugees were deported from Blinisht and Kakavije respectively. On February 14, 1993, 207 and 150 refugees were forced to return from Greece. There were no problems in this regard.

The deportation of Albanian refugees from Greece still keeps going on, although the government of our two countries agreed to stop it.

The Greek police also forced many Albanian citizens provided with regular entry and exit visas to return in Albania. These Albanians were employed in Greece according to all the rules. These refugees were violently taken and were deported to Albania. Most of them left in Greece the money they earned by honest work as well as different stuffs they had bought for their families.

There is no other alternative for them to return again to Greece apart from the illicit border crossing, as the Greek police tore off the visas. Refugee Pellumb Rrapaj, 32, from Patos, told of the bad luck of such a necessary trip. He says: On February 13, 1993, 15 kilometers in the depth of the Greek territory, a Greek driver carried in his truck 170 Albanian refugees and asked them to pay 25,000 drachmas each. On the way to the destination, 22 refugees, fell down from the truck. Presently two men and a woman are hospitalized in the Hospital of Ioannina.

Government Signs Transport Agreement With UK

AU1602164093 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 16 (ATA)—On February 9, 1993, an agreement was signed at the Seat of the British Embassy in Rome between the Government of the Republic of Albania and the Government of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland on motor road international transportation.

The agreement was signed by the ambassadors of the two countries.

On this occasion they also focused on the possibilities of an effective cooperation in all the areas of transportation and telecommunication.

Kopliku, French Delegation View Cooperation

AU1302163393 Tirana ATA in English 1124 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 13 (ATA)—In the context of cooperation between the National School of the Police of Paris and the Academy of the Forces of Order in Tirana, a 20 ton aid from the teachers' staff, pupils, and students of the French School of Police, the police staff and inhabitants of Paris arrived in this Academy. The aid consists of various medicaments, medical equipment, books, computers, clothes, and food articles.

As the leader of the French delegation, which accompanied the aid Moris Marte said, a considerable aid has been gathered in the storerooms of the Police School in Paris and work is going on to send this aid to the Academy of the Forces of Order in Tirana.

During its stay in Tirana, the French delegation met with the Deputy Premier and Minister of Public Order Bashkim Kopliku. They discussed the program of cooperation between the Albanian Ministry of Public Order and the French Ministry of Home Affairs. The delegation attended some lessons at the Academy of the Forces of Order in Tirana and valued the level of the coming officers of the Albanian police.

Assembly, Hungarian Officials Discuss Relations

AU1602164693 Tirana ATA in English 0913 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 16 (ATA)—A delegation of the People's Assembly headed by the deputy chairman of the Presidency of this People's Assembly, Shaqir Vukaj, which visited the Republic of Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian parliament, returned home on February 15.

Over its stay in Budapest, the Albanian parliamentarians met with the President of the Republic of Hungary Arpad Goncz, the speaker of the parliament Szabad Gyorgy, and with other Hungarian senior officials.

In these meetings they talked on the further expansion of relations between the two countries in various fields of mutual interest, such as in agriculture, transport, oil extraction, tourism, etc. They talked on the situation in the Balkan region and exchanged experience on the way to organize the parliament's performance, prepare and issue laws, etc.

Kopliku Leaves for Hungary, Attends Brasov Meeting

AU1602154093 Tirana ATA in English 1909 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 15 (ATA)—The Vice Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Public Order Bashkim Kopliku left for Hungary to take part in the conference for European cooperation on uncontrolled emigration from the Central and East European countries to be held in Budapest.

On his way to Hungary, the Albanian minister stopped in Romania invited by his Romanian counterpart to attend a meeting of the ministers of the Balkans organized in Predeal-Brasov. In the meetings with ministers, mainly with those of Romania and Greece, Mr. Kopliku spoke of the importance that emigration, even the uncontrolled one, has for Albania. The European democratic countries like Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and others would help a lot if they legalize the stay of those Albanian emigrants who are actually in these countries. Their legalization, accompanied with the necessary papers granted to them, hence their recognition by the police of these countries, would also reduce the number of possible law violations by Albanian emigrants in the countries where they are.

The meetings were held in a friendly spirit and the foreign ministers expressed their desire to help Albania.

Berisha Receives Romanies' Association Chairman

AU1202164693 Tirana ATA in English 1107 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 12 (ATA)—On February 11, President Sali Berisha met Jorgo Balamacin, chairman of the Wallachians' Association.

At this meeting, the representative of this association said that the Wallachians and the Albanians are brothers and nothing separates them from their homeland, Albania. He submitted to the president requests of cultural character. He also said that the Wallachians, residing in many countries of the Balkans, are a factor of understanding in this region.

President Berisha said that the observation of the identity of the other people contributes to the acquaintance and affirmation on the values, the mutual spiritual and cultural acquaintance with the people. I am sure that the fulfillment of your just requests will enrich the fond of your culture and the Albanian culture in general. I will persist in fulfilling your rights.

Counterfeit Currency Market Operating in Tirana

AU1502095893 Tirana ATA in English 0922 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 15 (ATA)—It is a long time now since the a great part of people who deal with free currency exchange know that false currency circulates in this market in Tirana and in some main districts on Albania.

But no official confirmation has been made so far on this question by the comptent organ .

The first official confirmation on the false dollars circulating in Albania is that made by the branch of public order in Gjirokaster on February 12, 1993, which says that the police organs of this district have detained an Albanian citizen because on February 8 he has exchanged 1,000 U.S. false dollars. Another person is also detained by police in the city of Lushnja because he had circulated 100,000 false liras. From the control made in his home, police found also some other 400,000 false liras.

This fact shows of insecurity in the exchange of currency in the free market. The free market in Albania emerged as an immediate need of convertibility of the foreign currencies brought here from abroad and the bank for a period of time exchanged them in great differences as against their real values.

Later on, the Albanian Government not only legalized this market but the state bank itself corrected considerably the value of currency exhange, gathering this currency almost with the same values as those in the free market.

Hence, now it is an adventure to exchange foreign currency in the free market for fear of getting false money instead.

Berov Denies Arms Embargo Violations

AU1202152493 Sofia BTA in English 1214 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 12 (BTA)—There have been no attempts to smuggle arms to states under embargo, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov said in parliament answering an MP's [member of parliament] question. He cited arms deliveries to Bolivia, the Philippines and Mali, which cleared Bulgarian customs with regular papers. Khristo Biserov MP of the Union of Democratic Forces, who asked the question, recalled reports last year of arms deals with these states. According to him there is data of attempts to trade with states under embargo, of a lack of valid documents naming the final recipient and of Bulgarian firms' contracting with disreputable mediators.

The new members of the Governmental Commission for Control over the Regime of Trade and Production of Military and Special-Purpose Goods does not intend to analyse the commission's actions under the previous cabinet, Mr. Berov said. The commission is seeking to improve legislation and issue licences on time, he said.

Zhelev Emphasizes Peaceful Balkan Policy

AU1202191193 Sofia BTA in English 1736 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 12 (BTA)—"I don't think that all possible means short of an armed intervention have been tried for a settlement of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia," said President Zhelyu Zhelev in an interview, aired on national radio this morning.

President Zhelev emphasized that by implementing a balanced Balkan policy, Bulgaria is trying to maintain equally good relations with all neighbouring countries. In this respect, Bulgaria's policy is not just wishful thinking, it is an actual practice, he said. Bulgaria does not implement a policy "in the dark" and has not given grounds for suspicion of making backstairs policy, the president said.

Bulgaria has a clear policy towards Macedonia, Dr. Zhelev said. Asked about the proposal to refer the name of Macedonia to international arbitration, the Bulgarian president said that the name of a state is a major political problem and cannot be solved by any political party or political institution. This problem can only be solved by the country's people through a referendum or in any other way, the Bulgarian head of state believes.

The president said that one of the purposes of the visit he began to Albania today was to declare Bulgaria's peaceful policy in the Balkans and the firm resolve to contain the conflict within the borders of the former Yugoslavia. Albania plays a key role in regional developments and a lot of things depend on its behaviour, Dr. Zhelev said. What we can do is to agree with the Balkan states, with our neighbours, on the implementation of a restrained, sensible policy, he pointed out.

In recent weeks, Bulgaria has activated its contacts with its Balkan neighbours: Last week Dr. Zhelev visited Skopje, the Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou arrived in Sofia last night, and President Turgut Ozal of Turkey is expected in Bulgaria on Monday [15 February].

Zhelev Views Foreign Policy Problems

AU1502161293 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Feb 93 p 3

[Report by Berthold Kohler: "The Difficult Balancing Act of Bulgarian Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Sofia, 14 February—If all Balkan states were so prudent in their foreign policy as Bulgaria, then Europe would not need to hide its face in embarrassment because of mass murder and mass rape on its own continent. Despite all its internal problems and quarrels, the country on the Black Sea, whose capital city of Sofia is only 50 km from the border with Serbia, has not allowed itself to be infected by the irrationalities and archaisms which determine the thoughts and actions of many of its neighbors. "Stability" and "understanding" are the main elements of Bulgaria's Balkan policy, which looks like a remnant of modern times in the middle of a general relapse into barbarism. "We want good relations with all our neighbors," President Zhelev says in an interview with this newspaper. In Sofia, one makes very sure that these contacts are balanced well.

The relationship with Turkey, which has long been strained by the problem of the strong Turkish minority in Bulgaria, is "very good" at the moment, the president says. There is progress in almost all fields, even security policy. Zhelev cites the mutual withdrawal of offensive weapons from a 60-km-wide strip along the joint border. Similar confidence-building measures have been sought with Greece. "So as not to give rise to misunderstandings," Sofia keeps Athens and Ankara informed on contacts with the respective other country. Currently, Bulgaria has lively relations with both states. This Monday [15 February] President Ozal will go to Sofia, thus being the first Turkish head of state do so in decades. Last week the Greek foreign minister paid a visit.

Zhelev admits that there are differences of opinion between Athens and Sofia regarding the recognition of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The different views must not dominate the Greek-Bulgarian relationship, however. Due to excessive nationalism and a historically untenable claim to sole representation, Athens does not want to permit the former Yugoslav republic to call itself "Macedonia." Sofia, however, recognized Macedonia as an independent state under this name on 15 January 1991, together with Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina. This recognition took place in line with the criteria of the EC's Badinter commission. Bulgaria wanted to contribute to the stabilization in the Balkans with this step, Zhelev says.

So far, however, most Bulgarians deny the existence of an independent Macedonian nation. The inhabitants of Vardar-Macedonia are largely considered to be ethnic Bulgarians or Pomaks and the Macedonian language is seen as a Bulgarian dialect. During his latest informal visit to Skopje Zhelev did without an interpreter. There is no point in recognizing a nation, the president says: "Either it exists or it does not." Bulgaria respects the right of every individual, as well as that of the Macedonian people, to call themselves what they like. "No state nor the United Nations have the right to tell a state what to call itself." The citizens in Bulgarian Pirin-Macedonia are also permitted to call themselves Macedonian, if they like. In the latest census, there was no indication that many people exercised this right, Zhelev says.

Zhelev sees the contribution that Bulgaria, as a country in the heart of the Balkans, might make to solving the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, mainly in terms of preserving its own political and social stability. It is part of the Bulgarian policy toward the war in the west that it does not try to gain any advantage from it. It will not participate in international intervention with weapons or soldiers, Zhelev says. In addition, Bulgaria is of the view that none of the countries which share borders with the former Yugoslavia nor any other Balkan state should participate in such an action, since otherwise the "old distrust" from the time of the Balkan war will be stirred up again.

According to the president, Sofia "very strictly" observes the UN embargo against Serbia and Montenegro even though Bulgaria suffers losses of $40 to $60 million per month. As a result, Bulgaria has suffered damages of $1.2 billion so far. Regarding the Serbian blockade breakers on the Danube, Bulgaria hesitated to use military force because the captains had threatened to pour their oil into the river. This would not only have caused an environmental disaster but would also have endangered the Kozloduy nuclear power plant, which is cooled with water from the Danube.

Apparently so as not to attract Serbian revenge on Bulgaria alone, Zhelev is calling for an "institutionalization" of the controls on the Danube. In order to ensure the effectiveness of the embargo, the UN Security Council must give Romania and Bulgaria the express mandate to use military force. UN representatives should also be present on the Bulgarian and Romanian speedboats, whose assistance and replacement by more modern units would be desirable. It would be "much more sensible and less dangerous" to organize the inspections of the traffic already at the mouth of the Danube. The checks there could be done by Romanians, Bulgarians, or mixed groups with UN participation. Zhelev has only a smile for the work of the international observers along the shipping lane so far: The gentlemen are watching the traffic on the Danube from their hotel room in Ruse, he says.

The Bulgarian president also has little praise for the EC Balkan policy. The EC has behaved "in a cumbersome and inconsistent way." In particular in connection with the recognition of Macedonia (which has not taken place because of Greek pressure so far) this damages the EC reputation. For the sake of a consensus, the EC has blocked itself.

In view of the tense situation in the Balkans and the domestic economic crisis, Zhelev does not think it advisable at the moment to use new elections to bring about a decision in the confusing domestic policy situation in Bulgaria. "Freezing" political life by a ballot might have a "fatal" effect on the reform process. Since 30 1992 December Zhelev's former economic adviser, the non-affiliated economics professor Berov has headed a cabinet of "experts," which is supported by part of the previously ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the party of the Turkish minority, and the Socialists (successors of the Communists). The government of SDS Chairman Dimitrov collapsed under the burden of its own mistakes, Zhelev says, who himself headed the SDS in the past and ran as a "blue" candidate in the presidential elections. The Dimitrov government steered a course of confrontation with almost all groups of society. Tension spread to the state institutions and finally blew up the SDS group in parliament, Zhelev says.

The fact that the Socialists are again the strongest group in parliament does not mean that they are returning to power. No party would enter into a formal coalition with them now, the president says, who is still far ahead in any popularity poll taken in the country. A return of socialism, which has been discredited everywhere, can be ruled out "categorically" in Bulgaria. The Socialists will be capable of governing only if they turn into a modern social democratic party and completely dissociate themselves from Marxism-Leninism. This, however, has been done only by a part of the party, Zhelev says—at least there they are no longer talking about it.

Zhelev Comments on Results of Visit to Albania

AU1402145293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Two hours ago President Zhelyu Zhelev returned from Albania, where he signed a bilateral treaty on friendship and cooperation. Upon his return the president outlined the specific results of his visit and the prospects of future bilateral relations.

[Begin Zhelev recording] There were several specific results of my visit—some are long-range, others, I hope, will become evident much sooner. In any event however, I think that the principles incorporated in the bilateral treaty are very important in developing relations between Bulgaria and Albania. The treaty should have been signed a long time ago, but we had to await the proper political and historical conditions, which made it possible 45 years after 1947 to sign a brand new treaty which reflects new realities and presents new goals, ways, means, and mechanisms of cooperation. [end recording]

I will add to what President Zhelev said that in the economic area Bulgaria and Albania will cooperate in transportation infrastructure, communications, and trade. Experts from the two countries exchanged opinions on cooperation in those areas. Specific agreements will be signed.

Agreements With Albania Detailed

AU1402192293 Sofia BTA in English 1839 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Report by Evgeniya Manolova: "Bulgaria, Albania Sign New Friendship and Cooperation Treaty"]

[Text] Tirana, February 14 (BTA)—Presidents Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria and Sali Berisha of Albania today signed a bilateral friendship and cooperation treaty to replace the effective document dated 1947.

The treaty envisages the development of a comprehensive groundwork for trade and economic ties, and scientific and technological cooperation with a special emphasis on industry, power engineering, ecology, reciprocal encouragement of capital investments and establishment of joint ventures. In their bilateral relation, Bulgaria and Albania will adhere to the universally accepted principles of international law.

Summing up the result of the visit after the signing ceremony today, the Albanian president stressed his country's determination to contribute to the promotion of bilateral cooperation in all areas. "We are ready to coordinate our efforts in order to prevent the Yugoconflict from spreading over the other Balkan states," Mr. Sali Berisha said.

President Zhelyu Zhelev stressed that Albania's position on this matter is of extreme importance in the current complicated situation in the Balkans. "It is very important that Albania has taken a restrained and clear position against the war and, in this respect, our positions simply coincide," Dr. Zhelev pointed out.

The two heads of states emphasized the similarity of their positions on the Balkan conflict and the ways in which it could be resolved. "There are similar view on certain issues but there are differences, too," President Zhelev added. These differences ensue from the two countries' positions on Kosovo and Macedonia. President Berisha did not hide his fears that if the military conflict spread over to these regions, his country might get involved in it, too. Albania's position on Kosovo is very delicate, President Zhelev explained. Asked about the position which Albania will take if the conflict spreads over to Kosovo, Mr. Sali Berisha said that his country does not want to participate in military operations. But objective realities could take a different turn and Albania may find itself involved in this war and then the government will hardly be able to control the movement of people, the Albanian president said. According to President Zhelev, the fears of the Albanian leadership are well-grounded.

The specific economic problems, discussed by the Bulgarian delegation in Tirana, focused on relieved visa requirements for Albanian businessmen travelling to Bulgaria and the development of communications. The talks concentrated on the projected construction of a motorway to link the Black and Adriatic Seas via Macedonia and the passage of an optical cable line between Sofia and Tirana. Bulgarian, Albanian and Macedonian officials will meet in Sofia in March to discuss these projects and prepare them for approval by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the European Investment Bank, which are expected to provide the investments. The establishment of a Bulgarian-Albanian Council on the promotion of economic ties between private entrepreneurs from the two countries have also been discussed.

President Zhelyu Zhelev returned in Sofia this afternoon.

Berov, Greek Minister Sign Cooperation Protocol

AU1202191393 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 12 (BTA)—Prof. Lyuben Berov, prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr. Mikhail Papakonstandinou, minister of foreign affairs of Greece, whose official visit to Sofia began yesterday, signed a protocol on cooperation between the two countries' Foreign Ministries in the afternoon today. Under the protocol, which will be operative for a period of three years, the foreign ministers of the two countries will hold meetings at least once a year. Mr. Berov and Mr. Papakonstandinou told a press conference after the protocol was signed that other agreements would also be concluded.

Mr. Berov and Mr. Papakonstandinou held two rounds of talks to discuss Bulgarian-Greek relations, the developments in the former Yugoslavia, the conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina, the observation of UN sanctions, and some problems related to Macedonia. Both stressed before journalists that today's talks could serve as a model for relations the Balkan countries should follow. "We established an identity of views on a number of problems," the Bulgarian prime minister and minister of foreign affairs said. Both Mr. Lyuben Berov and Mr. Mikhail Papakonstandinou pointed out that Bulgaria and Greece would not participate in any military intervention in the conflict in Bosnia and Hercegovina. They expressed their hope that no Balkan country would do it.

Concerning the problem of Macedonia, the two sides maintain their positions.

Mr. Berov and Mr. Papakonstandinou considered the possibility of relaxing the visa requirements, making Greek investments in Bulgaria and expanding Balkan economic cooperation. "We strengthened our relations," the Greek foreign minister stressed at the press conference. 120 Bulgarian-Greek joint ventures have already been established, exports to Greece account for 20

percent of Bulgaria's total export, and Greek goods top the list of imports in Bulgaria, he reminded. "There is no ice between us because if there was, we could hardly break it within a day," Mr. Papakonstandinou said, addressing the Greek journalists in connection with some publications in the press. He declared that Greece would give Bulgaria assistance for its further integration with the European Community.

The Greek foreign minister answered in the negative to a journalist who asked if his visit to Sofia had something to do with the Bulgarian president's Balkan shuttle (President Zhelev, having recently visited Skopje, today left for Tirana) and the forthcoming visit by Turkish President Turgut Ozal to Sofia.

Earlier today Mr. Mikhail Papakonstandinou and the Greek delegation had a meeting with Mr. Valentin Karabashev, deputy prime minister and minister of trade. They discussed the two countries' trade relations and the ratification of the agreement on the avoidance of double taxation signed in 1991. A Bulgarian-Greek agreement on the reciprocal protection of investments and the possibility of opening new border checkpoints in the Rhodopes area (on the border between Bulgaria and Greece) was also considered.

* * *

Late this afternoon Mr. Mikhail Papakonstandinou and the Greek delegation had talks with National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov. Stress was laid on the traditionally good relations between the two countries, the chief of the National Assembly's Press Service said. The Greek foreign minister pointed out Greece's desire to give Bulgaria assistance in speeding up its integration with the European Community. According to Mr. Papakonstandinou, the period of ten years for Bulgaria's admission into the EC which the Bulgarian prime minister mentioned will probably be much shorter. Mr. Papakonstandinou and Mr. Yordanov also discussed the forthcoming visit by a Bulgarian parliamentary delegation to Greece. The delegation will be headed by Mr. Yordanov.

This evening the Greek minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Mikhail Papakonstandinou, met Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim. Bishop Neofit, chief secretary of the Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, told a BTA reporter that the split in the Bulgarian Church had not been discussed at the meeting nor there was any mention about the Macedonian Orthodox Church. Emphasis was laid on the strength of the holy orthodoxy, which should take the initiative for the unification of Christians, Bishop Neofit said.

Trade Minister, Papakonstandinou Meet

AU1202151293 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1015 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] According to our reporter Biserka Grigorova, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Trade Valentin Karabashev and Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou ended talks at the Council of Ministers a short time ago.

During the meeting they discussed the possibilities for further developing the legislative basis for bilateral trade relations, and also determined the deadlines for ratification of agreements for avoidance of double taxation and mutual protection of investments. The Bulgarian side urged that the law that Greece passed last year to stimulate investment in neighboring countries should be extended to cover Bulgaria. Attention was paid to Greece's role in connection with integrating Bulgaria into the EC.

Regarding the differences concerning the recognition of Macedonia, the two sides reached the conclusion that good economic and trade relations between their two peoples provide a guarantee for surmounting possible problems in the political sphere.

Completion of Temelin Nuclear Plant Recommended

LD1602212393 Prague CTK in English 1956 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 16 (CTK)—The Czech economics minister will recommend to the Czech cabinet the completion of the nuclear power plant at Temelin, South Bohemia, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told journalists today.

Speaking after his meeting with the ministers, Klaus said the industry and trade ministry has been charged with working out a project on the plant's completion and submitting it to the government on March 10.

Klaus said Temelin's projected financial coverage counts with all costs, including the final stage of the whole nuclear cycle. He regards decision-making on the concrete location of a nuclear waste-dump to be premature.

The first burnt-out fuel will be definitively dumped in the Czech Republic around the year 2030. A definitive depot has not yet been built up anywhere in the world.

The economics ministers also discussed the question of energy saving. They think that within 18-20 years energy consumption will be cut by about 12 per cent. The effectiveness of its use should be raised by 40 per cent, Klaus said.

No 'Arguments' Against Construction

LD1702033693 Prague CTK in English 2335 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Prague Feb 16 (CTK)—The Czech Government coalition parties today found no essential arguments against the completion of the nuclear power plant at Temelin, South Bohemia, which started to be built in 1986 and which has drawn strong opposition from environmentalists, Jan Lux told journalists tonight. The government coalition is made up of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), the Christian Democrtic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) and the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA).

The government should deal with Temelin at the beginning of March, Lux, Czech deputy premier and agriculture minister, and KDU-CSL chairman, said. ODA chairman and Deputy Premier Jan Kalvoda said discussion on Temelin will continue. Earlier today, the Czech economics ministers decided to recommend the completion of Temelin to the government.

KDS Chairman Vaclav Benda said that neither our party nor our environment minister (Frantisek Benda) have been ever resolutely opposed to the completion of Temelin. We only voiced certain doubts whether the documentation gathered thus far and the energy concept (of the Czech Government) have been prepared so that the final decision can be made, he added.

The environment minister has been opposed to the plant. After the economics ministers' talks today, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said that Frantisek Benda's arguments against Temelin could not change the ministers' views. But Klaus did not specify Benda's arguments. Neverthless, he said that at the meeting, Benda spoke about nuclear energy as being considered the purest known source of energy.

Benda did not comment on the ministers' meeting. According to Czech Television, he will do so on Wednesday. [passage omitted]

Bank Official Views Currency Reserves Situation

AU1602211893 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Feb 93 pp 1,3

[Report by Marcela Doleckova: "The Decline in Foreign Currency Reserves Has Been Halted"]

[Text] The bonds amounting to $200 million placed on European markets by the former Czechoslovak State Bank [SBCS] were merely intended to bolster Czechoslovakia's balance of payments and, consequently, we should not look for any other special-purpose or specific use in them.

Czech National Bank [CNB] Deputy Governor Jan Vit said this in reply to a question from HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on how well-founded the Slovak claim is that the yield from the bonds was utilized only in the Czech lands. The Czech National Bank now also needs to replenish its foreign currency reserves and—therefore—it is negotiating with an International Monetary Fund mission for a preventive credit that should amount to around $250 million. Vit thinks it is technically more difficult to use for this purpose the undrawn-on tranche from the original series of credits granted by the IMF to the CSFR because the CSFR no longer exists. The conditions for the new preventive credit (payback period, interest, and so on) are still the subject of negotiation. Moreover, the CNB has started negotiations on further credits, including the possibility of issuing new bonds. Vit said—in connection with these negotiations—that the CNB's bargaining position improved significantly immediately after the currency separation, because the situation had—to say the least—become clearer to our foreign partners.

In reply to a question on whether the foreign currency reserves have really fallen so dramatically that all these measures are urgent ones, the deputy governor said—on the contrary—that the situation has recently calmed down considerably. Nevertheless, the CNB simply considers it prudent to have a stronger cushion that would be able, for instance, to act as a buffer against possible short-term fluctuations. Foreign currency reserves in the banking sector as a whole remained at $3.3 billion from the beginning of the New Year until 8 February, but the CNB's reserves fell by $400 million to $0.5 billion. This development reflects the behavior of the commercial banks, which have replenished their stocks after fasting

(the foreign currency market was closed from 22 December to 8 January because of the state's breakup). SBCS reserves fell from $1.35 billion to $1.20 billion throughout last year; however, reserves in the banking sector as a whole rose from $3.3 billion to $4.3 billion. The banking sector's reserves fell by $300 million in December and the SBCS's reserves fell by $400 million, so the net flow from Czechoslovakia amounted to $100 million.

The deputy governor emphasized that the Czech Republic—or rather, the CNB—is insisting on maintaining a system of internal convertibility and is even giving gradual consideration to expanding this system. In response to a question on whether it is also considering complete convertibility, Vit said that a study drafted by the former SBCS had mentioned a possible date of late 1995 or early 1996; however, it is now somewhat difficult to predetermine the situation. He discounted the possibility of devaluation. He sees no sign of this. Revaluation also does not seem very likely to him, because—in his opinion—it would be so negligible that its psychological impact would not be worth it. Studies are being drafted in specialist CNB workplaces on the possible simplification of the currency basket. Replacing the current five currencies with the two main currencies (either the European Currency Unit or the German mark and the U.S. dollar) obviously comes into consideration. In Jan Vit's personal opinion, it would not be prudent to link the koruna's exchange rate to a single currency, because foreign trade is not conducted in just one currency (for example, oil imports are paid for in U.S. dollars and imports from West Europe are mainly paid for in German marks) and being linked to a single currency would probably increase the exchange rate risk.

Baudys Views Guidelines for Selling Army Assets

AU1602135293 Prague CTK in English 2127 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 12 (CTK)—The new guidelines on the sale of Czech Army fixed assets closed the period during which various firms had an exclusive right to dispose of military property, Czech Defence Minister Antonin Baudys said at a press conference in Plzen, West Bohemia, today.

The guidelines were elaborated in order to clarify the disposal of the property and to halt recurring financial losses accompanying the transactions, Baudys added. He signed the pertinent document on Thursday [11 February].

A real estate firm which would submit the best proposal will be soon selected provided it would also obtain buyers, Deputy Minister for Management Miroslav Kalousek said. A seven-member panel would also approve a sale and an appropriate local official must always consult on the final decision, Kalousek added.

In all cases where Army property was not sold in the line with regulations, we will initiate a thorough investigation, the minister stressed.

Baudys was on an inspection tour of military installations in Plzen today.

Klaus Congratulates New Slovak President

LD1602165293 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus considers retaining and intensifying close and friendly ties with the Slovak Republic his own and the entire [Czech] Government's priority. Klaus stated this in his congratulations to Michal Kovac on the latter's election to the office of Slovak president.

Vaclav Klaus assured Michal Kovac that he is well aware that the shared past included shared problems. Some of those have been resolved, some we are still facing. "The fact that it is you who has been elected to the important and responsible office gives a guarantee that the demanding work ahead of us will bring positive results beneficial to both sides," Vaclav Klaus wrote to Michal Kovac in a letter of congratulations.

Thousands of Slovaks Applied for Czech Citizenship

AU1602140893 Prague CTK in English 0914 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)— [Passage omitted] Vaclav Henych from the Czech Interior Ministry says in the daily HOSPODARSKE NOVINY that a total of 34,000 Slovak citizens have applied for Czech state citizenship by the end of last year. All the applications cannot be expected to be settled immediately, he says, adding that about 3,000 of them have already been settled. Henych estimates all the applications for Czech citizenship to be cleared by the end of this October. [passage omitted]

Liechtenstein Prince Confirms Property Claims

AU1602141093 Prague CTK in English 0923 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Prague Feb 15 (CTK)—[Passage omitted] In an exclusive interview with the daily LIDOVE NOVINY Prince of Liechtenstein Hans Adam II returns to Liechtenstein's claims to property in Moravia and Bohemia confiscated from his family after the World War Two.

We want to be treated in the same way as citizens of other states are, he says. He recalls that the former Czechoslovakia has recognized the right of some states to be compensated for the loss of their property confiscated in Czechoslovakia, for example of the United States and Switzerland. I think that this right should be acknowledged in our case as well, the prince says. He confirms that if controversial issues between the Czech Republic and Liechtenstein are not settled Liechtenstein will veto the Czech Republic's possible acceptance into the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

Bank, Finance Minister Disagree on Devaluation

AU1602140693 Prague CTK in English 1924 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 14 (CTK)— Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth said today that he resolutely opposes devaluation of the Slovak currency.

Speaking with CTK, Toth said that in his view a devaluation of the currency cannot be decided by the Bank Council without consent of the Slovak Government.

I am convinced they (the Bank Council) do not have the mandate to decide on this matter, Toth said.

On the other hand, Vice Governor of the National Bank of Slovakia (NBS) Marian Jusko told CTK that the Bank Council has the mandate to take such a decision, adding that the Council will not make any rush decision without due consultations with the premier and ministers of the Slovak Government.

Jusko said the issue could not be consulted with the premier due to his illness last week, and added that the Bank Council will meet in a very short time.

Asked whether he can rule out devaluation of the Slovak currency already this week, Jusko said: I do not rule out anything, and pointed to the different stands of the Finance Ministry, the NBS and other ministries on the current currency development.

On Toth's resolute rejection of the devaluation, Jusko said he would be glad if the minister's strict personal view were supported by economic indexes.

SDL: Support for Kovac Does Not Extend to Party

AU1602140493 Prague CTK in English 2109 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 14 (CTK)— A majority of deputies from the Democratic Left Party (SDL) will support Michal Kovac, the presidential candidate nominated by the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), in Monday's [15 Febrruary] election, the SDL group of deputies in the Slovak parliament said in a statement today.

The statement, issued after SDL deputies' meeting with Michal Kovac, said that this stand means in no way support for the current government policy of the HZDS. SDL deputies will vote for Kovac as an independent political figure, on the basis of his presidential program, the statement stressed.

It said that another delay in electing Slovakia's president would lead to growing political and social tension and weakening trustworthiness of Slovakia abroad.

The statement also emphasized that nonelection of the president would preserve the intolerable state when too much power is concentrated in the hands of the Slovak premier, and when it is impossible to make the necessary changes in the government and appoint state functionaries.

The SDL expects the first democratically elected president of independent Slovakia to create conditions for improving political culture in Slovakia by an equal approach to all political parties and movements, the statement said.

Hungarian Leaders Congratulate President

LD1602172193 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Many congratulatory messages have arrived at the Slovak president's office. [passage omitted] Among the messages is one from Arpad Goncz, president of the Hungarian Republic. A quote from his message: Allow me to wish you much success in this responsible work and to voice my belief that this work, as well as our future meeting, will contribute to the strengthening of good-neighborly relations of friendship and cooperation, thus serving the interests of the Slovak nation, the Hungarian nation, as well as those of the whole region.

Jozsef Antall, the Hungarian prime minister, also sent a message: As a first president of the independent Slovak Republic you can do a great deal to permanently resolve Slovak-Hungarian relations. Our history, traditions, and culture ties our countries through thousands of links. Our national roles and long-term interests are identical—to increase the spiritual, moral and economic level of a sovereign nation and to integrate into the political, economic and moral structure of a new Europe. I wish you much success in this responsible work. [passage omitted]

KDH Issues Statement on Social Situation

AU1602190893 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 15 Feb 93 p 1

[Statement issued by the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Presidium on 12 February; place not given]

[Text] At its meeting on 12 February 1993, the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Presidium dealt with the political and socioeconomic situation in Slovakia on the eve of the second election of the president of the Slovak Republic. It notes that the social burden borne by the citizens of Slovakia is becoming unbearable. The socially weakest groups, in particular, such as pensioners, families with small children, handicapped citizens, and others, have found themselves in an unsolvable situation today.

The functioning of departments that are vital for our people's lives is dramatically threatened. There is a danger that health services will soon become incapable, economically and organizationally, of providing health care. Culture is becoming a target of struggle for power. The government's economic policy lacks even the basic

features of conceptuality. The development of the Slovak koruna is scarcely predictable. The most progressive economic group, small and medium-sized businessmen, are exposed to a liquidationist taxation policy. Agriculture is in a state of disintegration because the changes that have started have not been consummated and because no other concept has been drafted. At the threshold of its independent existence, Slovakia finds itself at the threshold of an extremely perilous internal situation, to which it had been brought by the policy of the Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. Even though two-thirds of the voters did not vote for it, the HZDS has filled all the important constitutional posts. This is why we have repeatedly described the effort of this movement to fill the highest state post as inappropriate. This attitude, displayed by the HZDS in the first election, has made the election of a president unfeasible. The election of a president appears to be almost impossible under these circumstances.

However, in the situation in which we find ourselves, it is imperative that constitutional bodies be able to work. The KDH Presidium realizes the key significance of the post of the president of the republic in our constitutional system. In the absence of a president, it is impossible to carry out changes in executive power in a critical situation, resolve the problem of a blocked parliament, build the army, and safeguard a normal operation of the state.

The KDH Presidium therefore calls on deputies representing the KDH to decide with utmost responsibility and prudence. The Presidium further recommends that KDH deputies decide about the candidate according to their conscience.

The KDH will not make any political bargains in connection with the election of the president. The only aim that our deputies pursue in this situation is to head off the threat of a social, economic, and constitutional catastrophe in Slovakia.

12 February 1993
[signed] KDH Presidium

Businessmen Protest Against Government Policy

AU1602140093 Prague CTK in English 1928 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 13 (CTK)— Slovak businessmen today called on the Slovak Government to submit by March 30 a program of measures to solve their demands for better legislative conditions for the private sector.

Reporting on the businessmen's assembly in Banska Bystrica, central Slovakia, Slovak Television said it was another of their protests against the current government policy.

According to the television, Slovak businessmen are considering staging a strike in support of their demands.

'Czechoslovak Committee' Set Up To Promote Ties

AU1602135893 Prague CTK in English 1736 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava Feb 13 (CTK)— The Czechoslovak Committee (CV), an international nongovernmental organization whose preparatory session was held here today, intends to preserve the continuity of relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics after the split of the Czechoslovak Federation.

Chairman of the CV's Preparatory Committee Vladimir Pavle told CTK after the session that the organization, whose assembly is to take place March 20, wants to hold an international conference called The Idea of Czechoslovakia and Central Europe in October 1993, on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the birth of a common state of Czechs and Slovaks.

Pavle said that after the passage of the law on ending the Czechoslovak Federation last December, nationalism started to spread from Slovakia to the Czech Republic.

Czech nationalism is reflected in the fact that the state bodies of the Czech Republic are not interested in experts from Slovakia any longer, he said.

The establishment of the committee was initiated by former federal parliament deputies opposed to Czechoslovakia's split and by members of the Association for Prospering Czechoslovakia two hours after the passage of the law on ending Czechoslovakia, Pavle said.

He added that the organization has at present about 220 members. Although is has supporters among deputies to the Czech parliament and the former federal parliament, it does not have a single sympathizer in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, he noted.

Spokesman on U.S. Plan for Bosnia, Other Issues

LD1602213093 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—Hungary's Foreign Ministry welcomes U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher's 6 point Bosnian peace plan, if necessary forcing the earliest possible negotiated settlement and with Russia's full involvement, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Janos Herman told reporters in Budapest today.

The spokesman announced the working visit to Hungary by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk on February 26-27. Invited by President Arpad Goncz and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, Kravchuk is expected to sign a number of agreements here, and ministers in his group will hold talks with Hungarian partners.

Herman confirmed Foreign minister Geza Jeszenszky's official visit to the Republic of South Africa from February 17 to 20.

The spokesman said that Hungary had succeeded in maintaining links with black African countries. Nigeria, the most important partner, has opened an embassy in Budapest. Southern Africa occupies a central place in Hungary's African policy.

Political and business ties with the Republic of South Africa have gathered momentum. The aim of Jeszenszky's forthcoming trip is to deepen contacts which began with President Willy de Klerk's visit to Budapest a year ago, besides discussing the two countries' foreign policy endeavours, and the opportunities for expanding bilateral economic and commercial links. Jeszenszky will have talks with his host and the economic minister, and will present a written message from Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to President Frederik Willem de Klerk.

At Hungary's initiative, CSCE high commissioner for national minorities Max van der Stoel is to officially travel to Budapest on February 18. He will be informed about the country's stance on Hungarian communities outside Hungary's borders, as well as Hungary's own national and ethnic minorities, and about the minority law under preparation.

Herman also reported that on the night of February 8, unidentified armed people attacked the lodgings of the four Hungarian policemen serving in the UN peacekeeping mission in Cambodia near Pursat, about 150 kilometres north of Phnom Penh. Six Cambodians died in the attack, the first against the 100-strong Hungarian police force. The policemen were not injured, but their houses were robbed and their cars damaged.

Herman said that Hungarian policemen performed their duty with great expertise and in a disciplined manner. Their Hungarian and UN commanders are trying to to keep them safe with appropriate measures. The activity of the peace-keeping mission continues to be hindered by the reluctance of the Khmer Rouge faction to join in the settlement process and cooperate with UNTAC bodies.

Gabcikovo Talks Fail To Reach Agreement

LD1702135593 Budapest MTI in English 1226 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] Brussels, February 17 (MTI)—The Slovak delegation lacking the necessary mandate, EC-Hungary-Slovakia talks on the Gabcikovo plant Tuesday failed to yield any agreement.

Reporting on the talks, which all had hoped to be the last round, Hungarian Foreign Affairs State Secretary Janos Martonyi said the Slovak negotiators had evaded adopting a statement to be submitted to the International Court of Justice, citing that the Czech parliament has yet to pass a decision on inheritance of the dam issue. No breakthrough has been reached on the issue of Slovakia returning the Danube water volume, either, Martonyi said.

The EC Commission, mediating the debate, issued a three-point statement on the most important requirements that should be met to conclude a final agreement. The sides decided to take the issue to the highest political level.

Hungary had made it clear it agreed with the EC requirements, Martonyi said, so it was now Slovakia's turn to take a step forward. Slovakia did not refuse to do so, but argued that it was unable to make the necessary decisions before the Czech parliament's discussion of inheritance on February 23.

NATO Commander Visits, Comments on Bosnia

LD1602010993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0013 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (TANJUG)—NATO commander for Europe, Gen. John Shalikashvili, said Monday NATO wanted a political, not military solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, but was prepared to extend all the help if necessary. Gen. Shalikashvili was on a three-day official visit to Hungary as of Sunday [14 February] night.

Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur stated after conferring with Gen. Shalikashvili that his country wanted no confrontation with its neighbors, and that this was "one of the reasons why it distanced itself from the Yugoslav crisis."

Minister Fur said NATO had no plans to engage Budapest in any way in the Yugoslav crisis, notwithstanding approval for the AWACS [Airborne Warning and Control System] flights to control the sky over Bosnia-Hercegovina from the Hungarian air space.

Visits AWACS Control Center

LD1502201793 Budapest MTI in English 1907 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—General John M. Shalikashvili, commander-in-chief of NATO's European armed forces, called at the Air Traffic Control Centre of the Hungarian Army on Monday [15 February]. At the centre, NATO experts are helping AWACS [Airborne Warning and Control System] flights monitor the observance of the aviation ban on Bosnia.

During the visit, a Belgian and a British NATO expert were on duty. Asked by MTI, the Belgian said that since the end of last October, when AWACS started patrolling Hungary's airspace, hundreds of airspace violations had been observed in the banned Bosnian zone.

Until 5 pm. on Monday, no intrusion had been registered by radar, the experts said. AWACS aircraft set off from Italian and German airports for Hungary. In case the danger of a possible external attack is observed, they would leave Hungary in the direction of Vienna, they said.

Jeszenszky Addresses Assembly on Security Policy

LD1602182793 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0930 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Speech by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at a National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, Esteemed House, Esteemed members of parliament. [passage omitted] It gives me great pleasure, after long preparatory work, which became prolonged as a result of recent political changes in our region, that on behalf of the government I can present the basic security policy principles of the Hungarian Republic.

In view of the fact that in assessing the basic interests of the nation the parliamentary parties and the decisive majority of society are in agreement, I found it justified to ask the views of all parties in formulating these principles. It gave me pleasure to experience that as a result of the joint labors of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee delegated by the parties, there is a wide-ranging political agreement behind the proposal now submitted.

If we consider the external and internal factors which made necessary the setting down of the security policy principles of the Hungarian Republic, it can be concluded that we are at the start of a new historical epoch in world politics, and this change of epoch, already the third in our century, once again began in the regions of Central Europe, and the events which determine the process are also taking place in the eastern part of our continent.

The enormous areas of this region, partly in 1917 and partly after 1945 were separated from the main trends of European development. Now they have received a chance from fate and providence to return to their common traditions and join the world-wide efforts to make the world a better place.

But arising from the sad inheritance of the past half century in the countries of the former Communist bloc, trends can be observed which are contrary to the historical reconciliation and developing integration processes representative of the western part of our continent. Conflicts arising from the past, which were stifled during the years of dictatorship—first among them the conflicts and tensions among nationalities—are breaking to the surface with elementary force, endangering the security of Central and Eastern Europe, and with this, the security of the whole of the continent.

The moral and economic crisis of this region, the difficulties of transition, impatience, and the advance of extreme feelings and extremist groups arising as a consequence of these make more difficult the solution of accumulated and the newly arising problems. [passage omitted]

In the present situation the security of the Hungarian Republic has two key questions. The process of our integration into the European or Western European community, and the establishment and strengthening of settled relations with our immediate and more distant neighbors. In both of these areas Hungarian foreign policy made and is making serious efforts to achieve concrete results, and I strongly hope that the sustained efforts will prove to be fruitful.

We know that to achieve our aims, our good intentions and good will alone are not enough. The results of the past two and a half years entitle me to declare that Hungary is regarded by the Western countries and governments, by all democratic governments in the world, as a stable and promising partner, and accepted as such. They count on it that within a foreseeable time Hungary will become an active and full member of these communities. I note with satisfaction that with the great majority of our neighboring countries we already have balanced and even intimate relations.

At the same time we see hope, and do everything possible in the interest of achieving real progress in settling the still-existing disagreements with individual countries in the near future. We are ready for cooperation with them in every form which serves the strengthening of mutual security.

The world is paying increasing attention to the position of national minorities and concerns about them. Only very few today regard the question of human rights—and among them the rights of minorities—as a matter of internal affairs. It has become generally accepted that the position of minorities is a serious security policy question.

We also made progress in extending minority rights, in fact in the realization of collective rights. It is true that we are still meeting strong resistance in this area when the question of the codification of these rights is raised. It is also true that the idea of autonomy or self-government is even today misunderstood by many who cannot see that this is the foundation of democracy, and it means guarantees not only for the minority, but also the majority.

But in solving concrete crises, and thus in the various concepts of settling matters which arise in connection with the Balkan crisis today, autonomy as an aim is indeed present, as is the guaranteeing of the rights of minorities.

Esteemed House. In spite of all these achievements the situation of Central and Eastern Europe today is far from reassuring. For settling an armed conflict there is not yet today the united political will, and the effective instruments of crisis management are also missing. Therefore our security policy must pay particular attention to these questions and must promote their solution. At the same time this cannot mean pushing long-term aims into the background or their devaluation.

During the solving of concrete problems we can only take steps which will help, or at least not hinder the achievement of our longer-term aims. These steps must always be worked out case by case, until we reach the level of integration which will guarantee our security on a continuous basis. There are no ready recipes in the present, very fluid international situation for the solution of various problems and crises. But in the present historical situation it is not possible to delay, to wait. [passage omitted]

The present situation places extraordinary responsibilities on the shoulders of the government and all political forces. Security policy can only be formulated and implemented with the active support of parliament, with the participation of all parliamentary parties and public opinion. Therefore it is very encouraging that the preparation of the principles now presented, and the way they were received, indicate the possibility and I hope the certainty that in the interest of the security of the Hungarian Republic we can work together, setting aside all party political considerations and under the directions set out by parliament.

This was the hope which guided the Government when it expressed its readiness to make regular presentation in parliament about the country's security position. I can assure the esteemed members of parliament that the government will continue to ask for the views and support of parliament over all questions which directly concern the security of the Hungarian Republic.

Mr. Speaker, esteemed ladies and gentlemen. With thanks for the cooperation and very useful comments of a great number of members of parliament I am asking for the acceptance of the submission by the government, entitled "The Basic Principles of the Security Policy of the Hungarian Republic" and the approval of the resolution concerning this. Thank you.

Fur Addresses Assembly on Defense Principles

LD1602193093 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1140 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Speech by Defense Minister Lajos Fur at a National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Hungarian Armed Forces serve exclusively the nation's interests; they are obligated to defend only these interests. The regaining of full independence of the state does, on the one hand, provide an opportunity for the elevation of the nation, while on the other hand it multiplies our duties laid down in the Constitution—namely, and I quote, the Army defends the country's independence, and its territorial integrity and its borders as laid down in international treaties. [passage omitted]

The defense principles submitted to the National Assembly intend to make up for the lack of such principles in Hungary's history. The document wishes to be such a basic document, which, in coordination with the security policy concept, determines the aims of the defense of the homeland, in its literal meaning. In other words, this document contains the doctrinal outlines of national defense, i.e., the aims of national defense, the factors impacting on the security of the country, the system of the Army, the role and place of the armed forces in the security and defense of the country, the main requirements regarding the armed forces, especially the Hungarian Army, and the objectives of the development and its phases of the armed forces.

The defense principles take as their starting point first the security policy situation in Europe, especially in our immediate neighborhood, the current state of affairs and means of the Hungarian Army. They are built on the realization that although the time of confrontation based on strength and deterrence has come to pass, the external continental and regional systems of institutions which would firmly guarantee the security of our homeland have not yet been established.

Our immediate environment, under the impact of changes which took place differently in places is—from a security's point of view—fluid and unstable. Therefore, we cannot as yet forego the ultimate security guarantee, the one offered by the armed forces of the nation. At the same time the burdensome legacy of the Hungarian Army raises several problems for the armed defense of the country. Therefore, the defense principles must give answers simultaneously to our long-term army policy, the preparation of the defense of the country, the development of the national defense force, as well as in the short term to the main directions of the transformation of the armed forces, especially the Hungarian Army, for the armed defenses of the country with the existing available forces and tools.

The defense policy laid down in the basic principles states that it intends to achieve the security of the Hungarian Republic through the new-type security partner relations, through cooperation based on mutuality and equality.

Our defense policy is exclusively of a defensive character. Its main aim is to avoid war and armed conflicts. In other words, armed force is the last resort of defense. At the same time, the national defense force must make obvious the resolution of the state and its ability to provide the armed defense of the country. The basic principles also lay down the need for the Hungarian Army to be prepared, when requested by the United Nations and other international organizations, for any peace-keeping activity which may become necessary.

Esteemed House. In accordance with the international treaties, the defense capability of the Hungarian republic is guided exclusively by the principle of restraint [visszatartas] and defense. In accordance with the principles of restraint the national armed forces must be kept at a level which would make any kind armed aggression against the country a risk, and that it should contribute precisely through this to the avoidance of a war or armed conflict. On the basis of defense, the armed forces must be able to confront external armed aggression, and defend the independence of the country and its territorial integrity. [passage omitted]

At the same time the defense principles prescribe that the legal regulations aimed at eliminating the dangers facing the country must always be in direct proportion to the forms and grades of the threat, and they must assist the peaceful solution to conflict and the avoidance of the occurance of a state of war. [passage omitted]

Alongside the maintenance of the fighting capability of the armed forces those changes which make possible the effective concentration of the available forces and equipment, and which may create the basis for modernization must be implemented by the middle of the decade. In the second half of the decade the Hungarian armed forces must be made capable for modern defensive warfare. The basic principles pay great attention to the strengthening of the national character of the armed forces.

The quality and state of affairs of the currently existing military technology makes unavoidable its gradual replacement and modernization. The country's security situation and the state of European security will surely have a determining effect on the development of the armed forces, on its phasing and its proportions. In a favorable circumstance the latter [as heard] can significantly reduce the need for development, which today, as yet, appears as necessary. The principle aim of the development of the armed forces is that by the turn of the century the Hungarian Army should become small-sized, in terms of staff levels, have modern leadership, and in peace time a mainly professional army, while in war time it should be based on complementing this professional force with recruits of all persons eligible for military service, an army which can react speedily, which is capable of maneuvering, be mobile and a modern armed force, and that the militia-type territorial defense units should be an organic part of this force. [passage omitted]

The Hungarian national armed forces cannot guarantee—against an enemy with a force several times larger—the integrity of the country, but its mere existence in the case of aggression, ragged resistance can create favorable conditions for external, military, political assistance. Were we not to possess a defense force suitable for the principle of restraint and defense we would offer an enticing chance for potential external aggression, which would act in the hope of rapid success and low risk. We would also reduce considerably the expected chances of external support.

The building and development of an army is a task for a decade which can adjust itself only in a limited way to the short-term policy objectives. Therefore, if we want to possess an operationally capable armed force in the second half of the decade, and if we want to have a modernized army by the end of the decade we must already today determine the main directions of development, we must take into account the material relations of that aim. [passage omitted]

Prime Minister's Requests on Official Appointments

LD1602232393 Budapest MTI in English 2044 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 16 (MTI)—Prime minister's press office reports say the prime minister on Tuesday [16 February] asked, with effect from February 22, the president of the republic to:

- Relieve Erno Raffay of his post as political secretary of state at the Ministry of Defence, at his own request with simultaneous recognition for his merits, (Hungarian Democratic Forum)

- Relieve Laszlo Sarossy of his post as political secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture, at his own request with simultaneous recognition for his merits, (Hungarian Democratic Forum)

- Relieve Tibor Pongracz (not an MP) [member of parliament] of his post as political secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance, and appoint him titular secretary of state to take part in government privatisation work under the guidance of Minister without Portfolio Tamas Szabo.

At the same time, the prime minister proposed, with effect from February 23, that the president of the republic appoint:

- MP Pal Becker (Hungarian Democratic Forum) political secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance,

- MP Laszlo Medgyasszay (Hungarian Democratic Forum) political secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture,

- MP Tihamer Toth (Hungarian Democratic Forum) political secretary of state at the Ministry of Labour, and

- MP Laszlo Szendrei (Hungarian Democratic Forum) political secretary of state at the Ministry of Defence.

New Ministers Profiled

AU1702113193 Budapest MTI in English 2100 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, 15 February (MTI)—Janos Gyurko, designated minister of environmental protection and regional development, was born in 1952. Graduated at the architectural faculty of Budapest Technical University, parliamentary deputy for the Hungarian Democratic Forum, member of Parliament's Committee for Environmental Protection. He told MTI on Monday [15 February] that he first wanted to study things at the ministry before working out concrete plans. He mentioned the Gabcikovo hydropower plant as one of the most pressing problems.

Janos Szabo, designated minister of agriculture, was born in 1937. He earned a diploma at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences of Szeged University of Arts and Sciences. Chairman of the 36-strong parliamentary group of the Independent Smallholders' Party since the autumn of 1992. He thought the most important task was to settle ownership questions in agriculture and accelerate privatization.

Ferenc Madl, designated minister of culture and education, was born in 1931. Graduated as a lawyer from Budapest's Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, and studied at the International Comparative Law Faculty of Strasbourg University from 1961 to 1963. Corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since 1987. Published works on international civil and business law relations. He attached great importance to the renewal of higher education.

Gyorgy Schamschula, designated minister of transport, telecommunication, and water management, was born in 1944. Graduated as an economist from the Budapest University of Economics. Worked for the National Oil and Gas Trust from 1968 to 1987. President of a small cooperative from 1987 to 1990, parliamentary deputy for the Hungarian Democratic Forum, political secretary of state at the Ministry of Labor from 1991.

Janos Miklos Latorcai, designated minister of industry and trade, was born in 1944. Graduated as a mechanical engineer from the Miskolc University of Heavy Industry. Worked several years for the Research Institute of the Budapest Technical University, and was then general director of Budapest's Weapons and Gas Appliance Factory. Head of department at the Ministry of Industry and Trade from 1991. Has registered technical patents in several countries.

Walesa Comments on Budget Approval

AU1602112793 Warsaw PAP in English 1956 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 14—"This budget is absolutely necessary to the nation and had to be approved", President Lech Walesa told reporters in Gdansk today prior to his departure to Warsaw.

"This budget does raise some doubts, but I am not president in order to go into their concrete resolutions. I am a president who demands certain solutions at certain times. I think that life will provide these solutions for us, and simultaneously the main points have been maintained, that which the world and our own realism expected of us," said the president.

The president also supported the idea of granting the government the power of issuing decrees with the force of law.

"Decrees are necessary at the moment, so we can consider legal and organizational problems quickly. We are building a new system on an old legal foundation," said the president.

Commenting on the results of the popularity poll published in the last issue of the POLITYKA weekly, in which he ranked fifth, Walesa said "I am happy that through these hard years I did not fall out of the top ten."

Budget Law Approval Avoids 'Political Crisis'

AU1602205093 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13-14 Feb 93 p 2

[Commentary by Danuta Zagrodzka]

[Text] We do not know whether what triumphed was out of reason or fear of presidential rule. In any event, we have a budget, the government is not going to resign, and the president will not dissolve parliament as he had threatened to do. Thus, we have avoided a political crisis and we do not have to start from scratch yet again.

The budget, which was passed at almost the last moment and after much bargaining, satisfies no one nevertheless. For supporters of the welfare state, it does too little for society, and for the liberals, it does not do enough to support enterprise. Everyone knows that it will only be possible to implement by maintaining cast-iron financial discipline, which heralds a bad year for people who rely on the budget. In exchange, we can have lower inflation, a fairly stable currency, the remission of debts, and new Western credits.

Rokita: Budget Means Zloty To Retain Value

AU1602113193 Warsaw PAP in English 2114 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 13—Parliamentary approval of the 1993 budget means that the Polish currency will retain its value, Cabinet Office Minister Jan Maria Rokita claimed today.

"Thanks to the acceptance of the budget, we will not have to endure the 'dollarisation' of the Polish economy, or to buy products uncertain whether the zloty will lose in value the next day," Rokita told Polish Television's main evening news bulletin.

Rokita added that he anticipated a reduction in bank interest rates on credits in the near future.

Rokita, considered one of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's closest cabinet allies, noted that "if we now legislate changes to the economy, and push ahead with the mass privatisation programme, this will be the measure of a certain success for Poland."

Agricultural Committee Proposes Budget Amendment

LD1602205393 Warsaw PAP in English 1754 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—The Senate (upper house's) Agricultural Committee on Tuesday [16 February] proposed to amend the 1993 budget law recently adopted by the lower house.

The proposed changes would increase the expenditures for agriculture and food economy by nearly 3.4 trillion zlotys (about 200 million U.S. dollars).

The Senate committee believes that extra funds required for this purpose could be obtained by plugging the leaks in the customs and tax systems, as well as by the introduction of an extra equalizing tax on imported goods.

The committee supported the proposed amendments despite the protests of a Finance Ministry representative who contended that there is no source available to finance the increased expenditures.

Draft Amendments on Special Powers Law Adopted

LD1602200493 Warsaw PAP in English 1638 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—The government on Tuesday [16 February] adopted amendments to its own draft law on granting the government the power of issuing decrees with the force of law. The amendments reflect the suggestions of the coalition parties.

The government proposed to limit the time in which decrees would be in force until the end of the present government term, "no longer, however, than for 18 months."

The amendments put restraints on ruling by decrees in the case of issues connected with local governments, privatization and education.

The bill is to be examined during next session of the Sejm (lower house) due to start on Thursday.

Walesa on Early Elections, U.S. Relations

LD1602230493 Warsaw PAP in English 2231 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—The society should play the greatest possible role in building democracy in Poland, according to President Lech Walesa who Tuesday [16 February] answered questions from listeners of Radio Free Europe.

He urged the society to join in the process of reforming the country. He also said that it was too early for an introduction of a presidential system in Poland, but this could happen later if the present democratic system proved inefficient.

Walesa seemed skeptical about the idea of holding early parliamentary elections. "We must first decide if we can afford such elections and whether they will not slow down reforms," he noted.

Walesa said he hoped for very good relations with President Clinton, even better than those he had had with George Bush. The Polish president also saw the imperative of an agreement between European states that would guarantee peace and security in the continent.

According to Walesa, the best cure for anti-Semitism was pluralism, democracy and open borders between states. He said Poland would find a solution to the question of compensation for Jewish property that would be just and conducive to a further development of Polish-Jewish relations.

The president told listeners of the radio that all police files concerning his activities in underground opposition had been destroyed. "What circulates around Poland now is but falsehoods invented to discredit me," he said.

He also firmly supported Secretary of State in the President's Office Mieczyslaw Wachowski who, according to the president, was not and had never been a police collaborator.

Rightist Politicians Attack Walesa 'Dictatorship'

AU1602113093 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 13—Leading Politicians from Poland's anticommunist right-wing stepped up their recent attacks on President Walesa at a series of meetings in several Polish cities today.

In Torun (central poland), Centre Alliance (PC) leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski claimed that Lech Walesa is "one step away" from establishing a presidential dictatorship, and this is now "the last moment to join in the fight against him for the future of the country."

Claiming to draw on his personal acquaintance with Walesa (Jaroslaw Kaczynski was formerly head of the Presidential Chancellery before breaking with the president), Kaczynski said that Lech Walesa "had concentrated in his own hands" control over the Polish banks, television, the security services, the armed forces and the interior ministry. "We now have to defend ourselves against another 'red' dictatorship, since that is what Walesa will impose," he said.

Kaczynski said that the most important question was not Walesa's alleged past collaboration with the communist security services, but the contrast between his promises and his present actions. "His betrayal is this: he was supposed to rely on new people, and instead he draws support from the forces of the old political system."

Later, Kaczynski travelled to Wloclawek (50 km south-east of Torun), where he and former defence minister Jan Parys attended a book-signing for readers of "Lewy Czerwcowy" ("The June Fraud"), the book in which several right-wing politicians attack Polish political leaders for their alleged links with the former communist secret services.

"We are travelling a straight road to communist rule, either under Walesa's leadership, or as in Lithuania (where the former communists won a crushing general election victory at the end of 1992)," Kaczynski claimed. He added that communists in Poland now have every possible political advantage - "money, the chance to organize, and a political apparatus."

Jan Parys, defence minister in the government of Jan Olszewski (December 1991-June 1992), claimed that Lech Walesa is the president of "the secret police and the communists." He also claimed that, when he was defence minister, Walesa had insisted that he should dismiss honest officers, and promote scoundrels.

Another leading rightist politician, Antoni Macierewicz, interior minister in the Olszewski government, speaking in Wroclaw (southwest Poland), said that the present political situation was characterized by "a close alliance between President Walesa, and the former communist establishment and the left-wing."

Addressing a meeting of the Christian-National Movement "Polish Action," Macierewicz attacked President Walesa's "blackmail" over the budget. Thanks to the president's intervention, "it is him we have to thank for the standard of living we will now have," he said.

Macierewicz noted the growing support for "Polish action," at the expense of his former party, the Christian National Union (ZChN), from which he was expelled in 1992 for his role in releasing Interior ministry files of alleged secret service collaborators during the last days of the Olszewski government.

"This is not a break-up of ZChN, but rather a loss of support for the party's main board. The ZChN has become a purely bureaucratic organization," he claimed.

Also in Wroclaw, around 150 supporters of the Freedom Party and "Fighting Solidarity" held the latest of their

monthly anti-Walesa demonstrations in the city centre. In attendance were Mariusz Sokolowski and Krzysztof Harlacz, two students currently on trial in Brzeg (Opole province) on a charge of having defamed President Walesa.

Polish, Czech Defense Ministers Hold Talks

LD1502232093 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 2145 GMT 15 Feb 93

[No video available]

[Text] During talks with a delegation from the Polish Ministry of National Defense, Antonin Baudys, Czech minister of defense, guaranteed observance of the agreements concluded by our country with [former] Czechoslovakia. The Polish and Czech defense ministers declare their desire to cooperate within the framework of the Visegrad Group. However, they would like to avoid its institutionalization. They define their common aim as being the entry of our countries into NATO.

[Reporter] During today's talks, Czech defense minister Antonin Baudys confirmed that the Czech side is inheriting agreements signed earlier between the Czechoslovak Republic and Poland, and in particular, inheriting the implementation of the agreement on military cooperation.

[Begin recording] [Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Polish defense minister] The Czech Republic is interested in maintaining cooperation within the Visegrad Group. It is counting a great deal on the development of this cooperation, except that it would not welcome any sort of institutionalisation of this group, and we fully agree. [end recording]

[Reporter] According to Minister Onyszkiewicz, one of the elements cementing Polish and Czech cooperation within the Visegrad Group is their entry into West European political, economic and defense structures. The point of departure is confirmation of previous treaties between Poland and Czechoslovakia. We will now be seeking a new road for broadening this cooperation. Our common aim, entry into NATO, demands mutual consultation and cooperation.

During today's talks, only general questions concerning military cooperation between the Czech and Polish armies were discussed. Such issues as the modernization of both armies' armaments and the exploitation of each other's firing ranges will be fleshed out at a later date by the chiefs of staff.

Ministers Discuss Cooperation

LD1502174593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] An interest in developing military cooperation between the Czech Republic and Poland has been confirmed in Wroclaw by the defense ministers of the two countries, Antonin Baudys and Janusz Onyszkiewicz. The Polish minister appreciated the fact that his counterpart had confirmed the validity of existing Czechoslovak-Polish agreements on military cooperation, which the Czech Republic will implement now. Minister Baudys expressed satisfaction over the closeness of the two sides' aims and promised to develop military contacts further. In this context, he stressed that the two countries shared the aim of joining the European Community and integrating into the North Atlantic Alliance.

Russian Deputy Defense Minister Visit Reported

AU1202115393 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 10 Feb 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russian Deputy Defense Minister's Talks and Meetings in Warsaw"]

[Text] Meetings with Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz and National Security Office chief Jerzy Milewski, plus bilateral plenary talks, are the main points on the agenda of the visit by Russian Deputy Defense Minister Andrey A. Kokoshin, who arrived in Warsaw on 9 February.

This is the first visit at such a high level since the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact in Prague on 1 July 1991, said Andrzej Karkoszka, adviser to Polish Defense Vice Minister Przemyslaw Grudzinski. Kokoshin and Grudzinski chaired talks between the Russian delegation and the Polish hosts on the subject of "broad possibilities of military cooperation in selected spheres."

Minister Milewski received the Russian guest on behalf of the Polish president. During the meeting, Kokoshin discussed the situation in the Russian armed forces. He said Russia was interested in developing good relations with Poland because, in his opinion, these relations are "lagging behind." Among other things, the Russians want to establish cooperation in the Baltic region.

Kokoshin was also the guest of the National Defense Academy in Rembertow, where he delivered a lecture on the reforms being carried out inside the Russian Armed Forces. He discussed the continuing restructuring and planned reduction of the 1.5 million-strong army, plans to introduce contractual service, and the formation of a special division to serve in UN peace missions. Deputy Minister Kokoshin said that Russia wishes to develop normal relations with all its neighbors.

Local Official Discusses Carpathian Euroregion

AU1702095693 Warsaw PAP in English 2145 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Krosno, Feb. 16—Euroregions are a well-tested form of transborder cooperation in Europe which complements contacts between individual countries, deputy governor of Krosno province Adam Peziol said today, defending the agreement on the establishment of a

Carpathian Euroregion concluded by Poland, Ukraine, Slovakia and Hungary against attacks from the Christian National Union (ZChN).

"The claim that the Euroregion may pose a threat to sovereignty must stem from a lack of knowledge of the concept of Euroregional agreements," Peziol said in reply to the ZChN's statement of Monday [15 February] criticizing the concept of Euroregions as a dangerous bridge to Europe's political unification threatening the loss of national and cultural identity.

Peziol announced that the first meeting of the Carpathian Euroregion's council will be held in April and added that the Polish side wants to propose Sanok, in the southeastern Krosno Province, as the seat of the organization's authorities. The proposal will most likely have the support of Ukraine and Slovakia, he said.

According to Peziol, who was one of the initiators of the Carpathian Euroregion, the project provides a plane for cooperation in culture, economy and environmental protection. He stressed that every member of an interregional union has the same rights and that decisions of its authorities are a result of a consensus.

Walesa Congratulates Lithuanian President

LD1702112393 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 17 Feb 93

[Text] In connection with the election of Algirdas Brazauskas to the post of president of Lithuania, President Lech Walesa has sent a cable of congratulations and wishes of success on the road to the construction of state independence and democracy in Lithuania.

At the same time Lech Walesa expressed the conviction that relations linking Poland and Lithuania will strengthen and develop in the interests of both our countries to the benefit of security and peace in Europe.

Walesa Sends Congratulations to Slovak President

LD1602201893 Warsaw PAP in English 1750 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—President Lech Walesa on Tuesday [16 February] sent a congratulatory cable to newly-elected Slovak President Michal Kovac. President Walesa said he hoped that very good Polish-Slovakian relations will develop in the future to the benefit of both states and nations.

Brazilian Delegation Discusses Expanding Relations

LD1602161293 Warsaw PAP in English 1438 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 16—A delegation of the Foreign Ministry on Tuesday [16 February] met with its Brazilian counterparts to review the state of relations and talk about the signing of bilateral agreements, Director of the Department of North and South America Zbigniew Lewicki announced.

Lewicki added that agreements on visa-free travel, protection of investments and the avoiding of double taxation were discussed during the talks. Brazilian Foreign Ministry delegation's proposal to prepare a scientific and cultural cooperation agreement was also touched upon.

Head of the delegation Ambassador Francisco Junqueira invited President Lech Walesa to visit Brazil. Brazil's foreign affairs minister is expected to arrive to Poland still this year.

A group of Brazilian businessmen accompanying the delegation held talks in the Ministries of Finance and Foreign Economic Relations.

Local Government Reorganization Announced

AU1602113793 Warsaw PAP in English 1714 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Krakow, Feb. 14—A map presenting the division of Poland into counties (powiaty) is to be completed by the beginning of April 1993, the government's plenipotentiary for the reform of public administration, Michal Kulesza told a seminar in Krakow today.

According to Kulesza, the creation of an additional administrative structure in Poland besides the provinces (wojewodztwa) and communes (gminy), will put the public administration in order allowing a rational distribution of public money.

The cost of creating one county is estimated at 2.8 to 5 billion zlotys (from around 220,000 to 360,000 dollars). Some 300 to 350 counties are to be established.

Kulesza said that an average citizen would benefit from the reform as he would be able to appoint and dismiss local authorities that would take control over public expenditures.

The effects of the reform will not be perceptible before 18 months from the time it is introduced at the beginning of 1995, he noted.

Iliescu Departs for Talks With NATO, EEC

AU1602195093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Our reporter has informed us that some ten minutes ago, President Ion Iliescu left for Brussels on a two-day visit. On this occasion, Iliescu will meet with high-ranking officials of NATO, the Western European Union [WEU], and Belgian political figures.

The delegation accompanying the head of the Romanian state includes: Messrs. Teodor Melescanu, state minister and minister of foreign affairs; Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, presidential counselor in charge of foreign policy questions; Lieutenant General Dumitru Cioflina, chief of the General Staff; Ion Solcanu, senator on behalf of the Democratic National Salvation Front; Valeriu Tabara, deputy on behalf of the Romanian National Unity Party; Stelian Tanase, deputy on behalf of the Democratic Convention—Civic Alliance Party; and Gabriel Tepelea, deputy on behalf of the Democratic Convention—National Peasant Christian Democratic Party.

Departing from Otopeni airport, Romania's president made the following statement to the press:

[Begin Iliescu recording] My visit to Brussels consists of a few elements. I will have contacts with a few bodies, but first of all, I will honor the invitation by the NATO leadership. Mr. Manfred Woerner [secretary-general of NATO] has visited Romania twice and, thus, I am returning his visits. I will meet with the NATO leadership.

At the same time, we will have contacts with the WEU leadership. We are already participating in forms of cooperation within both NATO and the WEU. There is a coordination council within NATO in which our country is also participating. A coordinating forum has been created that is attached to the WEU. There was a meeting in Petersburg that was attended by nine nonmember countries, including Romania. Thus, this is an opportunity to have contacts with these two bodies.

Similarly, we will have the opportunity to meet with Mr. Jacques Delors [chairman of the European Commission]—that is, with the EEC leadership. We will then sign Romania's association accord with the EEC. Therefore, this is an opportunity to continue our dialogue in connection with our country's participation in the EEC.

Being in Brussels, we will also have meetings with government members, the Belgian prime minister, and businessmen. It is an opportunity to have contacts with international bodies, whose headquarters are in Brussels, and with representatives of the Belgian Government and business circles.

We believe that this visit will mark a significant point in our foreign policy opening and contacts with the West European world. [end recording]

Nation's Role in Balkan Crisis Viewed

AU1502130593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1214 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/2/1993—The visits made at the end of last week in Bucharest by the foreign ministers of Turkey, Hikmet Cetin (on February 11 and 12) and Greece, Mikhail Papakonstandinou (on February 13 and 14) were related to the situation in the Balkans, the Yugoslav conflict in particular, writes the daily ADEVARUL. Their close succession should be misleading, as they had been initially scheduled at longer intervals and in reversed order.

The two visits stand proof that "Romania has been more and more a factor of stability in the region," adds the said daily. ADEVARUL opines that in periods of crises that could ignite a war, in periods when frontiers were being modified, in times of latent or overt ethnic and religious conflicts, it is normal for the countries in such areas to try to know the positions of each others and to jointly find political fulcrums. The two ministers of external affairs who visited Romania had also visited some other countries in the area, but the "talks in Bucharest," writes ADEVARUL "particularly," and "the coincidence is significant this time." The Turkish foreign minister told the press that "Romania and Turkey were two important countries in the area" and they wanted to develop their ties in all fields. The head of the Greek diplomacy said several times that "Greece and Romania have had special links," and added that he was positive that "this visit will further boost the relations between the two."

Beyond the protocol aspect of these diplomatic statements, one can realize that both Ankara and Athens have shown special interest in their ties with Bucharest, adds ADEVARUL, owing to Romania's role in this area, confirmed in the very tense period of the "Yugoslav barges carrying oil."

"The laziest analyst is aware that something is going on in the Balkans," runs a commentary in EVENIMENTUL ZILEI. The foreign ministers of Turkey and Greece visited Bucharest, the latter had been to Sofia before. The Turkish president, Turgut Ozal, will pay visits to Sofia and Tirana, the president of the Bulgarian Parliament will go to Tirana, and Yugoslavia's president, Dobrica Cosic, will come to Bucharest at the end of the current week for talks with President Iliescu.

Noticing "the sudden awakening of diplomacy in the Balkans," EVENIMENTUL ZILEI writes that it can be explained by the U.S. plan in this respect, more exactly by "a clear stance" of the Clinton administration for a peaceful settlement. "Irrespective of the reasons of the Americans the option for a political solution has visibly eased the tensions in the Balkans. For all the countries in this area, Romania included, a military intervention of the United States in this zone would have been catastrophic," says EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in this complicated process full of contradictions, "Romania is at a

clear advantage. It is the only one not to have territorial disputes with any of the Balkan countries. It is the only one to be credited in Belgrade, despite some difficult moments. That is why, maintains the said daily, Romania can become the main active factor in determining the adoption of a joint position against the developments going on in Yugoslavia. After three years of a defensive foreign policy, Romania is given a chance to be offensive again in diplomatic terms, to have initiatives."

In the context, it is relevant what the Romanian foreign minister, Teodor Melescanu, told a ROMANIA LIBERA writer, at the close of the talks he had with his Greek counterpart. He mentioned that the option of the American Administration for a political settlement of the Yugoslav crisis "has been opening a much larger range of interests and actions for the neighbours of Yugoslavia. It is clear that the United States are backing a political settlement, but it is equally clear that the neighbour countries can contribute to such a solution. ... We intend to continue the dialogue. At the same time, the concern to apply the U.N. embargo against Yugoslavia, on the Danube in particular remains, but the element brought about by the U.S. peace plan is a certain effervescence, a process in which everybody tries to see how could the countries in this area contribute to a peace plan," added Teodor Melescanu.

Iliescu Stresses Effects of Balkan Crisis

AU1502182693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/2/1993—The second series of lectures on national defence was inaugurated at the Military Academy's relevant College Monday, 15 February, in the presence of Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

The college gives post-graduate courses, which this year are attended by civilians, military, members of parliament, officials of the Ministries of National Defence, Interior and Justice.

In his address, National Defence Minister Niculae Spiroiu stressed the role the college can play for national security and the need for an efficient cooperation with NATO and the West European Union [WEU], with other West European military bodies.

Romanian President Ion Iliescu spoke about the part the Romanian Army can play in the present international context, troubled by unrest and even armed conflicts mainly in Eastern Europe. This part of the continent, President Iliescu said, dominated by "violent, contradictory evolutions," is the object of pressure and divergent processes that have all influenced directly Romania's geopolitical situation, which has found itself in the position to review its national security policies.

While showing that Romania's security was directly interconnected with international security, President Iliescu spoke about the "exacerbation of the status of ethnic minorities," that might cause new conflicts. These can never be solved by political summons, but by a process of mutual understanding of the issues as a whole. He illustrated this idea by Romania's relations with Hungary, underlining the tremendously important role the treaty between the two countries could play, a treaty under negotiation at present.

The president concluded by saying that Romania must in future join NATO and WEU and become a mobilizing factor in regional cooperation projects. Romania can thus become a factor of stability in Eastern Europe, apt to promote peaceful solutions.

Joint Action With Bulgaria on Embargo Favored

AU1602134293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1145 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/2/1993—A protocol was concluded at the close of the talks the Romanian minister of transport, Paul Teodoru, had with its Bulgarian counterpart. Several issues were tackled, among which the building of a bridge over the Danube, at Calafat-Vidin, the ferry traffic in this zone, the works at the Nikopole-Turnu Magurele hydrotechnical complex, the joint use of utility aircraft. The Romanian transport minister presented a few data on the present situation on the Danube and proposed to the Bulgarian party that the two countries keep efficiently in touch and act jointly in strictly applying the UN embargo on Yugoslavia.

NATO Delegation Briefed on Reform Progress

AU1602133493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1154 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/2/1993—Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and minister of foreign affairs, received Tuesday, February 16, a delegation of the Subcommission for Economic Cooperation of the North Atlantic Assembly, headed by Gerard Gaud, French senator, currently in Romania. The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, Mircea Geoana, mentioned that Minister Melescanu spoke about the political, economic situation of Romania, about the stage of the reform and made an evaluation of Romania's ties with the European and Euro-Atlantic structures, with its neighbours and the countries in its zone.

The representatives of the North Atlantic Assembly showed interest in the prospects of Romania's relations with NATO, the West European Union and the European Community.

Aspects were examined of the procedure to speed up Romania's admission to the Council of Europe, Romania's viewpoints on the Black Sea economic cooperation, Romania's prospects to be granted the most-favoured-nation status by the United States.

Opinions were exchanged on the current conflict in former Yugoslavia and the observance of the embargo imposed to Yugoslavia, especially on the Danube.

During its visit in Romania, the delegation will have contacts at all levels—political, parliamentary, local administration—to gather data for a report it is going to draft on Romania's economic situation, to be presented to the North Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly.

Daily Comments on Orientation Toward NATO

AU1602111793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1010 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/2/1993—Romania's reorientation towards the only structure able to ensure security in Europe, NATO, has been enhanced by the existence of a security vacuum in East Europe, following the bloodshed in the former Soviet Union, Transdniester included, by the war in former Yugoslavia, by no important progress in the normalisation of Romania's relations with Hungary, writes TINERETUL LIBER in connection with the upcoming visit of President Iliescu to the NATO headquarters.

On the other hand, adds the said daily, NATO is interested that Romania remain a zone of stability considering the security of Western democracies is being threatened by growing ethnic conflicts in Central and East Europe. Europe is fully aware that it would be "utopian" to rule out from its future architecture the regions lying until not long ago beyond the Iron Curtain. The recent diplomatic contacts in Bucharest and the visit of President Iliescu in Brussels, fully illustrate the important role Romania is asked to play, which calls from it to "no longer be inhibited and side more actively with the democratic forces." That is why, concludes TINERETUL LIBER, the dialogue between President Iliescu and Manfred Woerner and the address the head of the Romanian state is going to make in front of the North Atlantic Council are expected with much interest by Euro-Atlantic circles.

ROMPRES Reviews Relations With NATO

AU1602153093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1323 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/2/1993—In October 1991 President Ion Iliescu of Romania wrote a letter to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner expressing Romania's "interest and availability" for developing "effectively and dynamically" its relations with the NATO countries, showing that "Romania was pinning much of her hope for regional security and stability on the NATO."

The alliance came forward towards Romania's wish and, lately, numerous NATO delegations at various levels came to Bucharest. NATO secretary general himself visited Romania twice (3-5 July 1991 and 22 February 1992).

On his previous visit to Romania, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner attended the inauguration of the Euro-Atlantic Centre in Bucharest, when he stated that "NATO's relations with Romania have successfully developed over the past year" and manifested the wish to "strengthen these relations." "Romania is a European country, belongs to Europe and will join this continent, will be a component part of European evolution. We shall do everything in our power to ensure the future development of Romania, so that this country could be a part of the main trend for European development," the secretary general said on the same occasion.

In November 1990, a delegation of Romania's Parliament was for the first time invited to attend a session of the North Atlantic Assembly. On 17 April 1991, in Brussels, Romania was granted the status of "associated delegation."

Romania's foreign ministers have had important talks at the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. At the latest, in December 1992, Foreign Minister Theodor Melescanu pronounced for the conclusion of "partnership and cooperation agreements" between the council members and, as part of this body's scope of action, for the promotion of peacekeeping activities, including "joint manoeuvres". On the same occasion, Mr. Melescanu expressed his hope that this year would bring "a gradual integration of Romania with NATO structures, which this country needs at a difficult time like this."

Negritoiu, U.S. Delegates View Cooperation

AU1602123493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] This morning, Mr. Misu Negritoiu, state minister and president of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, received a delegation of the U.S. Agency for International Development. During this first round of talks, the sides discussed a few principles regarding future cooperation between Romanian and U.S. specialists to study the effects of the macroeconomic policy in the areas of restructuring and privatization by bearing in mind their impact on the environment, our reporter Silvia Ilies informed us.

Government Financial Support for Moldova Detailed

AU1502123793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/2/1993—"As already announced, Romania's Government adopted, in its Friday [12 February] session, a draft on the ensurance of financial support for actions regarding relations between Romania and the Republic of Moldova," informs the daily ADEVARUL. The newspaper notes that "this seems to be the first step in a tendency to start a global policy of integration, first of all an economic one, between the two Romanian states." The commentary also notes that the draft's main strategic objective is "to

speed up economic integration and consolidate the joint cultural and spiritual life." Also mentioned is that the draft sets itself to remove certain "doubts over Romania's true possibilities to engage in extensive and long-term projects in its relationship with the Republic of Moldova."

Priority landmarks for actions initiated by the Romanian Government and comprised in the draft are, according to the quoted daily: Support for economic integration (the opening in Chisinau of a joint bank with a starting capital, on behalf of Romania, of $2.6 million), ensurance of free-of-charge study books for medium and higher education in the Republic of Moldova, cultural actions and Romanian press delivery financed by Romania for the benefit of the Republic of Moldova, a joint Romanian-Moldovan newspaper to be put out in Chisinau, financial support for operations to improve conditions at restoration works for two monument churches in Bessarabia, scholarships for students taking theological classes, financing of the Bessarabia and Bukovina National Institute of Studies, granting of emergency assistance in case of need. Moreover, the Republic of Moldova will be assisted for attending international meetings and for covering the expenses on three diplomatic missions of the Republic of Moldova abroad.

The daily ADEVARUL appreciates that "the draft includes substantial provisions" and has the merit to open the way in the field.

Army Press Bureau Clarifies Press Speculations

AU1202192093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] The Press Bureau of the Armed Forces has sent us a fax with a number of specifications in response to affirmations that have appeared in certain publications in connection with the nomination of civilian figures as secretaries of state to the Ministry of National Defense.

At the news conference held by the Ministry of National Defense on 11 February 1993, the faxed message reads, no name of any person who may hold such a position was publicized. What was published by the press in this connection is mere speculation.

To those who are interested in verifying this statement, we can offer a tape recording of the entire news conference.

The nomination of state secretaries to ministries is taking place in accordance with a very clear method that has been approved by the government, a method that will also be strictly observed by the Ministry of National Defense.

We want to announce that the problem of occupying a position in the leadership of the Army is not a question of pressing topicality but a question of the future, the fax received from the Army's Press Bureau emphasizes in conclusion.

Spokesman Holds Briefing on Iliescu's Agenda

AU1202175593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1722 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/2/1993—Friday, February 12, presidential spokesman Traian Chebeleu made a brief survey of Romanian President Ion Iliescu's agenda for the following days, following which he answered questions from the journalists.

The questions bore mainly on the president's upcoming visit to Brussels and especially on the contacts he is going to have at the NATO Headquarters as well as, of course, their significance.

Quoting certain statements, also taken up by a number of publications, regarding the president's alleged interference in "the executive's affairs," spokesman Chebeleu said the Romanian president respected the separation of powers in the state but was concurrently interested in the way the executive and the legislative carried out their activities. Traian Chebeleu promised that in one of the following news conferences he would invite the presidential counselor in charge of juridical matters to make the necessary clarifications.

Spokesman Chebeleu answered the question of a journalist concerning transparency of the presidency saying that what had been done lately was a sign of maximum transparency. The fact that a number of meetings are held "behind closed doors" is motivated either by the fact that these are working meetings, or by the president's wish, or by the request to that effect of the participants, therefore no further explanations, communiques or other information for the press should be expected in those cases.

Government Discusses 1993 Budget, Other Bills

AU1202215893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1951 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/2/1993—In its Friday, February 12 meeting, the Romanian Government discussed the state budget.

"I understand the big requirements in all fields of social and economic life, also to be found in the requests for money from every ministry, but let's be realistic, let us not forget for one moment the exact possibilities Romania has now" said Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu in his opening address [as received].

The draft state budget was presented in two variants. The first one is based on several main considerations: the gross national product stays at last year's level, in comparable conditions; an average exchange rate of 500 lei for one U.S. dollar; elimination on May 1 of all state subsidies, with appropriate compensation of the population's incomes (but also with increase of budget expenses for social protection); introduction of the V.A.T. [value added tax] starting July 1.

The second one—little more than a sketch for the time being—stipulates a decrease of five percent in the GNP [gross national product] while keeping the other above-mentioned factors unchanged.

The first budget variant stipulates an annual deficit of 340 billion lei. The government spokeswoman said previously that any variant of the 1993 budget would be an austerity one, meant to take the country out of the crisis.

It was also decided that all proposals and amendments to the draft budget be examined in the Wednesday, February 17, meeting so the final draft could be discussed and approved in the Friday meeting and immediately submitted to the Parliament.

One of the important bills discussed and approved by the government is that on bankruptcy. The bill is part of a package on the transition to a market economy: Setting up of commercial companies, protection of the population against illicit trade activities, fighting unfair competition, setting up of the trade register.

Also discussed were bills on special credits for the agriculturers, improvement of the blood donations system, setting up of private notary's offices, financing of economic and cultural activities for the Republic of Moldova.

Commission Head Outlines Economic Prospects

AU1402153093 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 9 Feb 93 p 4

[Interview with State Secretary Mircea Cosea, president of the National Prognosis Commission, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "1993 Should Not Be Missed for the Reform!"]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] We are now in February. What will this economic year look like?

[Cosea] We began with a given situation and we are restricted by the following things, primarily by the flow of raw materials and energy and by the development of agricultural production. Romania's capacity to finance its development, that is, the capital it is able to invest, depends on those two basic elements. According to our forecasts, 1993 will not bring more foreign capital to Romania than the previous year. The flow may even diminish a little. Our forecasts also show that we will be unable to increase our exports considerably. All this means that we will have a deficit in the trade balance and the balance of payments. We estimate that Romania will be about $1.3 billion in the red in 1993 as well. Of course, that figure could also be $1.2 billion, in the best case, or $1.5 billion in the worst. That deficit will also limit our capacity to develop. Above all, the lack of capital will prevent our industry from beginning to operate at the optimal parameters because it will restrict investment considerably.

We expect positive developments in agricultural production, however, and we have every reason to do so. Even if nature proves unfavorable, agricultural production will exceed that of 1992 simply because this year we prepared almost twice as much land for agricultural production as last year. We expect that the growth of agricultural production will not be too spectacular, not exceeding a few percent, but still it should grow. The growth rate of industry will not exceed the one hundred level [o rata de crestere peste suta], but anyhow, due to the restructuring and modernization steps taken in 1992, it might grow at a higher rate than in 1992.

[ADEVARUL] On the whole, are your forecasts optimistic or rather pessimistic?

[Cosea] Neither this nor that, they are realistic ones. On the whole, gross national product will not grow either, although it will drop considerably less than in 1992.

Thus, both scenarios we have developed forecast a drop in economic output, but the drop is much less than in 1992. One could say that according to the more positive scenario, gross national product will diminish by 5 percent, whereas according to the more negative prognosis it will drop by 7 percent compared with 1992. Taking into consideration that the drop in 1992 was 10 percent, while in certain fields it even exceeded 10 percent—industrial production, for instance, dropped by 20 percent—we are entitled to regard the 1993 trend to be better than the one for 1992. The growth rate might reach positive values toward the end of this year, provided that beginning with the second half of the year industry manages to turn to good account certain improvements which are being prepared now. Those improvements would add up to a better utilization of unused resources which have become very valuable now that [economic] restructuring has begun to take effect. Secondly, some kind of progress might be expected toward the end of the year, provided that an investment program is implemented.

[ADEVARUL] Related to the latter issue, which steps do you think can be possibly taken?

[Cosea] Such measures refer, first of all, to the placement of investment. Secondly, they refer to a qualitative shift in financial policy, meaning a better balance of state revenues and expenditure, and—most of all—a more correct evaluation of the role played by the private sector in the economy. All those measures, together with the possible favorable conclusion of the accords with various international financial organizations, could give us hope that 1993 will end better compared to what we predicted in October 1992. there are still certain elements to be discussed, however, which could have a very important impact and which cannot be precisely assessed yet. One such element is the introduction of the value added tax [VAT]. International experience has demonstrated—and there are no exceptions—that immediately after the introduction of VAT, state incomes decline a certain amount. Another element that should be included in our

calculation is the shock which will be caused to our entire economy by the complete elimination of state subsidies as of 1 May. That will surely cause inflation as well and alter the proportion between people's incomes and prices, which, for the time being, can merely be assessed globally. A third such element that ought to be considered is the policy that will be pursued by the National Bank, because in 1993 we will surely have to undertake corrective measures in the exchange rate or the bank might have to reconsider its entire policy, which may range from freeing the exchange rate completely to trying to stabilize the currency at lower values.

[ADEVARUL] To what extent could those unknown elements upset your forecasts?

[Cosea] I would like to say that irrespective of the future turns taken by those elements, our forecasts remain valid overall. This means than in 1993, even if production and growth continue to drop, that decline will be considerably smaller than in 1992. That is why we believe that 1993 should not be missed for the reform!

Constantinescu Views Government Performance

AU1402190593 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 9 Feb 93 p 6

[Interview with Emil Constantinescu, president of the Democratic Convention of Romania, by Ioan Lascu; place and date not given: "Constructive Attitude of the Democratic Convention of Romania Has Not Been Perceived Correctly"]

[Text] [Lascu] Mr. Constantinescu, I would like to ask you not to approach a specific subject during our interview but rather topical issues from various areas. First I would like to ask you to assess, from your position as leader of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], the performance of the executive branch after (somewhat more than) 100 days of its mandate and to comment on the prospects of the strategy followed by the third postcommunist government.

[Constantinescu] Were I to begin with a joke, I would say that one can hold nothing against the current government because it has done nothing! At least according to all appearances, and this is of significance for the ordinary citizen. One cannot see any activity that can be termed government activity except for the obvious one of planting people loyal to President Iliescu in the state administration structures! Actually, this is understandable. Leaving aside competence and public interests, a number of deeds proving political and electoral devotion have to be rewarded. I hope that the public will correctly perceive the facts revealed by these deeds proving that the Democratic National Salvation Front [FDSN] is nothing but a group of clients who, now after the relative success in the elections, are demanding their "rights." But continuing at the very serious level implied by your question, I have to say that our public objective on 8 January, when we presented the official CDR position on the current situation, led to swift action by those in power in the sense that they tried to prove the impossible, that is to prove that aside from changing prefects, the government is also doing other things. Along another train of thought that was implied by your question, it is very clear to us that the "strategy" of the Vacaroiu government aims to achieve only two things: Satisfy Mr. Iliescu's political clients, and delay a possible social explosion that may break out at any time due to the entire range of economic measures taken by the preceding governments, from which the current government cannot dissociate itself no matter how it tries.

[Lascu] It is said that the relative lack of CDR success in the elections was due to the fact that the leaders of this group confused desires with facts, in the sense that what is said is also done. Do you agree with this opinion?

[Constantinescu] If we view things from the angle of the fact that the FDSN "won" more votes than the CDR, then we certainly speak of lack of success. If we compare the results of September 1992 with those of May 1990, however, then things are completely different. Returning to the core of your question, we cannot speak of confusing desires with facts but rather of a certain inability to make our message, which undoubtedly heeded the profound interests of the Romanian people, penetrate the absolute majority of the electorate effectively.

[Lascu] How can the opposition rid itself of its immobile status in parliament, bearing in mind that almost no opposition proposal has been adopted because of the monolithic resistance of the leftist parliamentary groups headed by the FDSN?

[Constantinescu] First, I do not agree with your description of the opposition as immobile. One cannot speak of such a thing. I have repeatedly said this. We considered it necessary—and all CDR leaders in Parliament agreed—that the Vacaroiu cabinet should be granted a "grace period." Unfortunately, the CDR attitude, which actually cannot be termed other than constructive, was not perceived correctly. Both the government and the other members of the executive branch, who took the liberty to let things drag on, were busy trying to seek positions for political clients. Between you and me, I have information that things had gotten so far that ministry directors were changed exclusively on the basis of political affinity, while the press recently reported that not a single genuine legislative initiative was submitted by the government to the legislative bodies. The fact that the parliament agenda includes more than 60 draft bills submitted by former governments does not represent government activity. This is why I believe that the period of grace I mentioned before has to come to an end. On the other hand, none of our friends has, at all times, correctly interpreted the attitude of the CDR parliamentarians. They went too much by appearances. I am convinced that gradually people will clearly understand, on the basis of the attitudes of the parliamentary groups, who is promoting the public welfare and who is not.

[Lascu] How do you view the achievement of a dialogue or consensus between the main political forces in order to work out a strategy aimed at saving the country from economic chaos and this serious crisis of hope?

[Constantinescu] First, I do not think that an equal sign can be placed between dialogue and consensus. Consensus, this genuine fad of President Iliescu, is nothing else here than the facade under cover of which a single point of view is being imposed. Anything can be discussed, but we cannot have similar opinions with those responsible for this economic disaster, who are unable to come up with a tangible project. There can be only one alternative: Either the current government and its loyal supporters firmly proceed to implement their electoral promises—at this point I want to recall that President Iliescu promised 1 million jobs—or it declares that it is unable to handle the country's affairs and cedes the responsibility for ruling the country. The CDR has proved that it is prepared for such a possibility. One thing is clear: The current stagnation cannot go on.

[Lascu] Bearing in mind that you are the rector of Bucharest University and president of the Council of Rectors, what can you tell us about a better integration of young people, graduates of higher education, into economic, social, and cultural life? Otherwise, the exodus of the best of our young specialists will increase.

[Constantinescu] Your question touches on one of the most dramatic aspects in Romania today: the exodus of young people. Unfortunately, it will be very difficult for us to give young people back the conviction that here, in Romania, there is a chance for every person. There are facts, however, which offer considerable reason for optimism. Nonetheless, I will not tire of repeating that the place of Romanians, particularly of young people, is in Romania. They have to change this country, not desert it. In the final analysis, they would do nothing but please those who would like to get rid of potential opponents.

[Lascu] Your visit to Italy in mid-January was a positive thing for improving Romania's image. As CDR leader, what are you doing to continue such steps?

[Constantinescu] It is "en vogue" to talk about Romania's image in the world. In actual fact—and no one should take offense—Romania's image in the world is rather in accordance with realities. In my view, it is not our image that has to be improved—as those in power try to do with a lot of money—but facts. In this respect, I have and will continue to do my best. By the same token, I am of the opinion that by no means should one confuse the interests and image of those in power with the interests and image of Romania. This is what communist propaganda did during Ceausescu's time and, unfortunately, the same thing is happening now.

U.S. Military Action 'Will Only Spread' War

LD1302153593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1348 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Bileca, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—The chief of the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic (in Bosnia-Hercegovina), Colonel General Ratko Mladic, stated last night that it is important that the U.S. Administration understands that military involvement in clashes on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina will only spread the war.

During a news conference held on the Hercegovina battlefield, Mladic said that the Croatian and Muslim sides want to achieve their aims by war, and with military and political help from many Western countries.

Enemies, led by Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic, are becoming increasingly nervous due to their war defeats and failures, and are hence making risky and irrational moves, which are pushing their people into even greater defeats, Mladic said.

Tudjman came to power on the crest of a war and can remain at the helm of the ustasha state only through war, and he cannot offer anything but war to his people, the commander of the General Staff of the Army of the Serb Republic said.

He stressed that the Serb side favors "peace and a political solution to conflicts, and maps and delineation that would be of no detriment to the warring sides." He added that those who signed all the documents in Geneva and New York "without a second thought" oppose this idea.

Mladic said he is surprised by Turkey's demand for military intervention, assessing it as "a rallying call to settle accounts with the Serbian and Montenegrin nations—that is, as a rallying cry for another battle of Kosovo. This is confirmed by the latest planned and organized expulsion of Muslim people from Trebinje and their being moved to places near Kosovo, where Albanian and Muslim people are in the majority," Gen Mladic said in conclusion.

Spokesman Calls U.S. Plan 'Step Forward'

LD1202131693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Excerpts] Mostar, Stolac, Neum, and Konjic were peaceful overnight with sporadic small-weapons and mortar fire by the Serb aggressor. It was also peaceful this morning. Veso Vegar, spokesman of the defense department of the Croatian Defense Council of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, said at a press conference today. [passage omitted]

Veso Vegar presented some operational findings according to which Chetniks are preparing a fresh offensive in the wider area of Konjic. There are 200 special troops from Nis and 50 Russians in the village of Borci. Russian volunteers have been coming to Montenegro, where about 1,000 fresh volunteers are due to arrive.

Commenting on Clinton's plan, Veso Vegar said that it represents a step forward in the resolution of the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis and that it is basically a support for the Vance-Owen plan. A significant novelty, according to him, is the fact that U.S. forces, together with NATO forces, will guarantee the implementation of an agreement reached by all three sides.

Serb Assembly Chairman on New York Proceedings

AU1302203693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Interview with Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic, by Tereza Guld in New York; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Guld] Are you satisfied with the developments in New York?

[Krajisnik] Our assembly gave us certain tasks, to make the optimal political concessions and compromise as much as possible but not beyond a level which would be defeating and catastrophic for the Serbian people. We believe that we had to reject the maps, reject those that they presented to us since, prior to that, we offered them three versions of new maps that are, I speak objectively, at least rounded in an economic sense and ethnically more adaptable than theirs were. They simply thought that what they offered was on the take it or leave it principle. I think that this decision is correct and I hope that democracy will wake up in the United States, that someone will appear there who will wish to know the truth and not merely what is presented as the truth.

[Guld] Do you think that if you had made more concessions they would have asked for more and more?

[Krajisnik] I believe that they would most certainly have asked for more without any limit to our concessions. We had to make an effort to preempt those who would criticize us, to accept the principles that certainly are no good, to accept the military plan that is full of faults, just to make it perfectly clear when it came to the maps that there is no bargaining with the Serbian territory and the Serbian ethnic regions. If we had given back the entire Serbian territory, I still have a feeling that they would have asked for more, have us all move to Serbia, to another area, and hand this over to the Muslims and the Croats like the new world order would have it.

No 'Positive Solution' From U.S. Seen

AU1602151293 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 93 p 4

[U. Balsic report: "Violence Through Maps"]

[Text] "The maps proposed by Vance and Owen we cannot accept, because we would leave a large part of the Serbian people outside the Krajina's borders. However, if the maps were to be revised, perhaps a compromise might be found," Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], informed us yesterday by telephone from New York.

He sees a glimmer of hope in the efforts of the Geneva conference co-chairmen to find a compromise, but one cannot expect any positive solution for the Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovina to come from the American attitude.

"The Muslim side actually wants this solution to be rejected. We suppose that the influence of the Muslims on the U.S. Administration is very great, and what we can conclude from official American statements does not promise any satisfactory solutions for the Serbs," Krajisnik said.

According to Krajisnik, the new proposal by Radovan Karadzic is about the annexation of the municipalities of Sanski Most, Prijedor, and Dvor on the Una to the territory under the Serbian control, while the maps proposed by Vance and Owen attach these towns on the right bank of the River Una to the Cazin Krajina.

"Our proposal establishes the border on the river Una, which means that these towns belong to the Serbian Krajina. What we had in mind when proposing the map is the economic tie, something that was also insisted upon by the co-chairmen, but the Croatian and the Muslim factions did not accept it," Krajisnik said.

"In the negotiations with the Croats, we managed to agree that we should get a part of Posavina, where the Serbs make up the majority of the population; however, the other participants disagreed," Krajisnik explained.

Krajisnik thinks that in the future course of the conference heavy pressure will be applied to the Serbian faction to accept the proposed maps, but he emphasized that, despite this pressure, the Serbs cannot accept any solutions that are forced, that confound the struggle and the rights of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"We cannot accept that almost a half of our people remain outside the borders of the Serbian republic, but the danger of these solutions being forced upon us is quite probable, to judge from the demands and threats addressed to the Serbian people," Krajisnik said.

At the end of the conversation, he sent a message to the Serbs in the Serbian republic that the Bosnian Serb delegation is doing everything it can to accomplish its goals through negotiations, but also that the delegation above all respects the decisions of the assembly, and the will of the people.

Russia's Role in Peace Talks Welcomed

LD1302111593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2309 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Feb (TANJUG)—"Talks and all events in New York were extremely difficult and strenuous, and passed off in an atmosphere of unprecedented pressures of all kinds on our delegation," Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic (in Bosnia-Hercegovina) and a member of the Serb negotiating delegation in New York, told SRNA today. "In addition," Krajisnik said, "one had to bear the tension that was building up in the expectation of Clinton's plan. Despite everything, although my impressions have not yet settled, I think that the situation has nevertheless been taken realistically, because the emphasis as regards the end of the war in former Bosnia-Hercegovina has been actually returned to the only possible way: The way of a democratic dialogue between the warring sides."

"The democratic approach implies an active peacemaking role by all three warring sides. Therefore we can assess the New York negotiations as successful, in a way, although the offered maps are directly catastrophic both for us and the Croatian side. They do not allow the Serbs to be territorially linked."

"Hence," Krajisnik went on to say, "I consider the inclusion of Russia into the Balkans events a new quality. I hold that Russia must play a more active role in the Balkans, i.e., in the events in Yugoslavia and former Bosnia-Hercegovina, so that the long-awaited balance in this area between the world superpowers is established."

"We expect more objectiveness in the approach to and the understanding of the war conflict in former Bosnia-Hercegovina with the appointment of Vitaliy Churkin into the peace negotiating team," Krajisnik said in conclusion.

Commentary Views Potential U.S., Russian Role

AU1602175993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Zijo Dizdarevic commentary]

[Text] The primary aim of the American plan is in fact to constrain Serbia in its hegemonistic intentions through, not military, but political and economic pressure. Milosevic's greater Serbian policy is seen by the United States as a wider danger, primarily as it instigates nationalistic and [word indistinct] forces, particularly in Russia. The U.S. plan speaks of aggression, the increased cost of aggression that Serbia and Montenegro have to pay, and of Kosovo and Macedonia.

In order to shatter the dream of a greater Serbia, it is vital to ensure in practice the sovereignty, independence and the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. That is why one can assume that the Americans, in defining the formula for the internal organization of our country, will take care that there is no physical connection between the provinces with a majority Serbian population, that is, that there is no corridor to link up Serbia and the Knin Krajina through, and including, the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Vance and Owen have reluctantly devised a new proposal which removes the Posavina corridor. Also, [words indistinct] stresses that there will absolutely be no political endorsement of ethnic cleansing. This approach meets the most serious objections presented by our authorities to the Vance-Owen project. The White House plan has been activated, particularly as the introduction of the term aggression radically changes the atmosphere of the negotiations, and undermines the basis of the Vance-Owen concept, which was based on the equality of the three negotiating sides and the equating the position of the aggressor with that of the victim.

The situation is very different now, both when it comes to the objectives of the pressure and those on whom the pressure is exerted. The authority of the only superpower is no doubt directed at disciplining the aggressor and his executors. That is how Clinton is making it clear that the solution will absolutely not be imposed on the Bosnians and the Croats. That is a clear message. There is also the threat of forming an international war crimes tribunal. The full consideration of the legal Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities has also been expressed in the invitation to Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, to visit Washington soon.

The direct participation of Russia in the peace process is its first important international act since the USSR disintegrated. Moscow has shown unequivocal interest in Serbia and Montenegro. By participating in the search for a solution to Bosnia-Hercegovina, Russia will have to reveal its intentions, as it will be acting on the international public scene, and it will also bear responsibility for the outcome of the process. It is of vital importance for Yeltsin to be respected by the West because of his unstable position in his country. At the same time, he has to keep in mind that, in nationalistic and clerical circles in Russia, he has to maintain the impression that he is a reliable protector of Belgrade and Podgorica. In view of that, Serbia and Montenegro are of more importance to him than various Karadzics, that is, the one thing that matters is to create the conditions for the lifting of the international sanctions against the aggressor countries. Thus Moscow has already opposed America's intentions to tighten the sanctions.

However, what if Karadzic and his lot do not accept the future peace project, which is quite likely? It is not very clear what alternative Karadzic had in mind when he refused to sign the document with the maps of the provinces, since any new plan will be at the expense of his ambitions. There are hints coming from Pale that they will realize the right to self-determination by seceding from Bosnia-Hercegovina, and on top of that, associate fully with the Krajinas in Croatia. They are counting, as they have done so far, on might being right, on the unreadiness of the West to intervene militarily, on the inability of our army to launch, at the moment, an operation for the full liberation of the country, on the misunderstanding between the Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities and the Croats, and on the de facto situation being in time accepted. Regardless of how realistic or not this thesis is, it should be taken into consideration because, after all, it is being supported by the current enemy offensive.

U.S. Plan Demonstrates New Russian Role

LD1302144093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1410 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, February 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav international affairs expert Predrag Simic assessed on Saturday that the U.S. plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina made a concession to Moscow's new role, and its increasingly independent actions as a great power on the international scene.

"This can be seen in the rejection of demands for a radical military action which risked Moscow's first 'post-cold war' veto in the Security Council," said Simic, who is director of the Belgrade Institute for International Politics and Economics, in a statement to TANJUG.

"Moscow's stand is the key reason for the rejection of the military option, since Moscow has shown in the last month and a half that it is no longer prepared to follow America unconditionally, above all in the case of Yugoslavia, and even less in other crises," said Simic.

On Wednesday evening U.S. President Bill Clinton's administration announced its plan for ending the 11-months-long civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina between local Moslems, Serbs and Croats. The plan rejects the military option and upholds, in principle, the plan on Bosnia drawn up co-chairmen of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

Clinton's plan makes concessions to U.S. allies in Europe, who, according to Simic, "no longer show enthusiasm for the further radicalization of the Balkan conflict. But, even though they do not believe that the Vance-Owen plan is the best possible one, they see it as the most realistic option for stopping the conflict."

"In other words, military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina is rejected not so much because of Bosnia and humanitarian problems, but because of the need to build up a consensus and confirm America's lead in the post-cold war world," said Simic.

Simic believes that the Vance-Owen plan has shown that "the West has realized that Bosnia-Hercegovina's sovereignty, as understood at a certain moment by former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, was a bloody utopia, and that the attempt at constituting Bosnia as a mini Yugoslavia, after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, was a short-sighted policy."

Simic says further that "the prevailing belief in the West is, that the disintegration of Yugoslavia was a mistake, and that a political solution should be sought through setting up severed economic links, regionalization, and the cantonization of the entire Yugoslav space, including parts of the former Yugoslavia which were not encompassed by the war."

In the end, Simic assessed that an international protectorate over this former Yugoslav republic will be introduced, and will last until emotions have cooled down, to be followed by a long an tortuous process aimed at finding a political solution.

Karadzic Makes Statement on Return From New York

LD1202182393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Feb (TANJUG)—We did not walk out of the conference. We returned because no one was there to talk with the Serbian side, Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic said late this afternoon on his return to Belgrade.

"We are not in conflict with either the United States or the United Nations, but with Muslims and Croats whose top-level delegations must be present so that we can all sit down at a negotiating table," stressed Karadzic in his statement for correspondents at Surcin Airport.

Karadzic welcomed "the return of America to the Balkans," and also expressed hope that Russia would not be a mere observer. "I believe that Russia will be in favor of a U.S. presence in the Balkans, if for no other reason than to maintain balance, which is always a healthy thing," the president said.

Karadzic Discusses War Crimes Allegations

NC1702083393 Istanbul SABAH in Turkish 10 Feb 93 p 16

["Exclusive" interview with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbs in Bosnia, by SABAH correspondent Sebnem Senyener in New York—date not given]

[Excerpts] [Senyener] You are a psychologist. How do you feel about being accused of committing war crimes?

[Karadzic] That is the injustice. It is not true. The newspapers have created that image. It is not true. It is a great injustice. I know I have not committed any war crime. My people know that I have not committed any war crime. I have been elected by my people to serve them. They know I represent them.

[Senyener] Have you killed anyone?

[Karadzic] No. I have not. I oppose killing people. The killing must end immediately. I have not killed anyone. I haven't even killed an animal. I am not responsible for anyone's death, either. I hope that will remain the case until I die. I want it to stay that way. I do not wish to kill anyone.

[Senyener] Can you comment on the "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia?

[Karadzic] It is wrong to describe what is taking place as "ethnic cleansing." What is occurring is the "shifting of ethnic populations." The people move because they are afraid. But that cannot be described as ethnic cleansing. We let the refugees return to their homes. We will allow them to do so.

[Senyener] Are the starving Bosnian Muslims in the concentration camps part of the "shifting of ethnic populations?"

[Karadzic] We do not have concentration camps. We have camps for prisoners of war. A slim boy was sent to a camp by accident. All the others were very handsome and well-built people. Reports that the prisoners are starving in the camps are unfounded. Hunger is the nation's problem. We have been subjected to an economic embargo. All the people, not just those in the camps, are hungry because of the embargo. We can feed those in the camps only twice a day because the entire population is hungry. Food is in short supply. Food supplies are not enough for everyone.

[Senyener] Women have been raped. Is that a psychological approach you have learned?

[Karadzic] That is unfounded. Not one part of the reports on the issue is true. We have had 18 of the women who claim they were raped examined. They all said their friends were raped. There is no evidence to prove women were raped. That is a horrible lie. Rape occurs not only in wars, but also when things are normal. Men assault women. It takes a psychopath to do that. You find psychopaths in wars. If several individuals have tried to rape women, they are psychopaths. Our commanders would kill them. They would not allow them to rape people. We have been accused of systematically raping women. That is a horrible lie. Our generals are extremely sensitive about moral behavior. All our generals are from the old communist school. [passage omitted]

[Senyener] Do you think the world will believe you?

[Karadzic] I believe the truth will come to light. Jesus Christ was alone when he first began his work. So was Prophet Muhammad.

[Senyener] Can the Serbs fight an all-out war with Turkey?

[Karadzic] Yes. They can. We resisted Hitler. We can resist any country in the same way. But Turkey must not fight a war against Serbia. The two countries must cooperate within the framework of the Black Sea Cooperation Organization. Turkey must try to convince the Muslims to live with the Serbs. It must convince them to live in Yugoslavia. The Muslims will be happy to do so. They decided to separate and also included us in their decision.

[Senyener] How long will you continue to fight?

[Karadzic] There are two ways to end the war. The first is the defeat of one of the warring sides. The second is a political solution. Had we wanted to defeat the opposite side, we would have captured Sarajevo by now. But by refraining from war, we have proved that we do not want to maintain war. We do not want to maintain the war, because they are our brothers. They are Serbs. Yes. Ethnically, they are Serbs. They have always been Serbs. But they have adopted the Islamic faith. Their Muslim leaders support the concept of jihad. The people are closer to Turkey. Their leaders are closer to countries like Sudan and Iran. Izetbegovic supports the concept of jihad. The war will continue if the Muslims do not agree to establish a confederation and if they decide to maintain the fighting. Bulgaria and Serbia will join the war if military intervention takes place. Consequently, the war will spread.

Sarajevo Authorities Boycott UNHCR Aid

LD1402160193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] The decision not to accept humanitarian aid for Sarajevo was not reached by the Bosnia-Hercegovina government but by city authorities. This refers only to the humanitarian aid from the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR]. The aid delivered by any other humanitarian organization will be accepted, Zlatko Lagumdzija, deputy prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said today.

Decisions on opening the airport in Tuzla for humanitarian flights, as well as on a humanitarian airlift for the residents of eastern Bosnia lie with the UNHCR. This is the basic conclusion reached at a meeting held today by Deputy Prime Minister Zlatko Lagumdzija and representatives of nonstate humanitarian organizations with UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] representatives. The UNPROFOR representatives again stressed that they receive all requests from nonstate humanitarian organizations to (?participate in) the delivery of humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina only via the UNHCR. UNHCR representatives did not find it worthwhile to take part in the meeting today.

Relief Aid Piles Up After Rejection Decision

AU1202144093 Paris AFP in English 1417 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 12 (AFP)—Relief supplies were piling up at Sarajevo airport Friday after a decision by the city council to refuse all aid until convoys are able to get through to beleaguered towns and villages in the east of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Zlatko Lagumdzija, a deputy prime minister, urged a nationwide boycott of aid Thursday [11 February], but he told AFP Friday that the state distribution agency would be ordered to halt deliveries specific areas only once the local town councils agree to forgo relief.

The central government will not force communities to boycott aid in solidarity with the east, but is appealing to them to do so, he said.

The announcement on television Thursday made it appear as though the government was rejecting aid for the whole country in solidarity with the east.

French General Philippe Morillon, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Hercegovina, was meeting with the Serb high command Friday in Pale, just outside Sarajevo, in a bid to have firm orders sent to local commanders along the supply routes to let the convoys through.

On Wednesday he produced a timetable for convoys to the east, but a convoy to the town of Srebrenica which was supposed to leave Thursday did not, and UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer said Friday that the schedule for the other convoys remained fluid.

At the sparsely stocked open-air market by the Roman Catholic cathedral here, a sampling of Sarajevans were unanimously in favour of the boycott, though some said they felt it would have little effect.

"They're not getting anything in Srebrenica; why should we?" commented Jusef Beglerbegovic, 81.

"I'm not sure whether it will help get the food to the east any faster, but it will salve our consciences," said Sabira Drunic, 35, a refugee.

"If people there are starving, it's normal that we should starve too," commented her companion, Dikija Buljubasic, 42, another refugee.

Prices remained stable at the market despite the end of relief supplies.

Sarajevo, its population down to 380,000 from a pre-war total of 530,000, has been existing on the relief supplies since Serb gunners started besieging the capital 10 months ago.

A 16-year-old who had two 100-gram packets of coffee to sell for five German marks each said he supported the decision.

Nine relief planes landed Thursday before an artillery battle between Serbs and Moslems force the closure of the airport, and 50 relief trucks arrived, but the state distribution agency refused to accept the supplies.

Twenty more relief planes were due to land Friday.

Larry Hollingsworth, the Sarajevo operations chief for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said that in a day or two the airport depots would be full and incoming aid would get wet if it rained.

He told AFP the UNHCR was negotiating "on a daily basis" to get convoys through to the east.

Aziz Sunje, the general manager of the agency, said the boycott included refusing medical supplies for hospitals.

He said all agency branches in contact with Sarajevo had been informed of the appeal.

"What the east is getting, we are getting—nothing," he said.

Lagumdzija told AFP that the 50,000 people in Srebrenica were in extreme danger of dying from hunger and lack of medical supplies.

He urged a strengthening of the U.N. Protection Force's role, so that the troops could implement their mandate permitting "all necessary" measures to ensure the convoys get through.

He also suggested that the UNHCR offer the Serbs who are blocking the convoys to Moslem areas as much relief as they demanded for their own people.

"That's an idea," he said. "They haven't tried that. We would support it."

Lord Owen Denounces Muslims' Sarajevo Aid Halt

LD1202234793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2301 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] New York, February 12 (TANJUG)—Co-chairman of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen on Friday deplored the decision of the Muslim government in Bosnia-Hercegovina to prevent humanitarian shipments to Sarajevo.

He said that Sarajevo badly needed aid and that this was not the way to shift attention to problems in other areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Sarajevo government decision was announced today by its representative in New York Muhamed Sacirbej. He said that the decision was meant to draw world attention to areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina where relief cannot reach the population.

Lord Owen also said that Muslim armed forces, and not Serb units, have been shelling Sarajevo lately.

Lord Owen said that he could understand the disappointment of the Sarajevo government that aid cannot reach some areas, especially in eastern Bosnia, and said that he had asked Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic for the Serb side not to interfere with relief convoys.

Lord Owen said that stopping aid shipments to Sarajevo was not the way to resolve this problem, or any others.

Diplomats at the United Nations (U.N.) headquarters are bringing the latest step by the Muslim authorities in connection with the part of the United States (U.S.) plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina which pertains to the promise of additional measures to secure relief shipments to different parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Madeleine Albright, the U.S. ambassador to the U.N., spoke about this at a Security Council session held today behind closed doors. She said that a special team had been formed in Washington, together with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was considering measures to secure relief shipments.

The biggest problem is whether the U.N. peace forces in Bosnia- Hercegovina have the right to use force in order to secure relief shipments, or if they can resort to force only in self-defence. The British and the French, whose troops are in Bosnia-Hercegovina within the U.N. peace forces, maintain that the use of force is permitted only in self-defence.

It seems that the latest move by the Muslims is a manoeuvre to force a different interpretation of the right to use force.

UN 'Understanding But Critical' of Aid Boycott

AU1202144593 Paris AFP in English 1427 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Geneva, Feb 12 (AFP)—U.N. refugee officials were understanding but critical Friday [12 February] of the Bosnian Government's bid to reject relief aid until convoys are able to get through to Serb-beleaguered parts in the east and southeast of the country.

"We don't really feel this sort of grandstanding is very productive," said Sylvana Foa, spokesperson for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

She stressed that the "high commissioner really does appreciate the desperate concerns these authorities in Sarajevo have for the people in eastern enclaves."

But "we don't really understand why these leaders will decide to deprive their people of food when the food is available, when every single day the UNHCR and the NGOs (non-governmental organizations) risk their lives getting that food to Sarajevo," she said.

High Commissioner Sadako Ogata has sent a letter of strong protest to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic,

whose forces have blocked humanitarian convoys trying to reach the mainly Moslem enclaves in eastern Bosnia, the spokesperson said.

The UNHCR believes at least 100,000 people are living in total desperation in the villages choked off by the Bosnian Serbs and hit with heavy fighting. The Serbs' "ethnic cleansing" has also forced thousands of people out of their homes to wander in sub-freezing weather or swell smaller, ill-equipped villages.

Ogata has also sent an emergency message to U.N. envoy Cyrus Vance, co-chairman of the Yugoslav peace talks in New York, to urge him to pressure the Bosnian Serb delegation there to get their ground forces to drop their blockade.

The frustration and regret was echoed by UNHCR spokesperson Alemka Lisinski in Zagreb, who blamed most of the obstacles on the local Serbian leaders. She said U.N. officials understood "the indignation of the people in Sarajevo" but have tried everything to get aid through to the east.

Three UNHCR attempts to reach the key eastern city of Gorazde have failed in the last three weeks, she said, adding that since the war erupted in April not one single convoy has managed to get through to the town of Cerska from where 5,000 people recently fled in desperation, walking in freezing temperatures to the town of Tuzla, 40 kilometers (25 miles) away.

Lisinki said the local Serbian authorities in the east ignored decisions by their superiors to let through humanitarian aid, sometimes "under the pretext that there was fighting in the area," other times setting demands beyond the realm of the UNHCR such as a prisoner exchange.

UNHCR spokesperson Foa said the last convoy that reached the eastern enclaves arrived on January 19 in Gorazde. Only one got through to the town of Zepa, on January 17, and one reached Srebrenica on December 10, though "we are supposed to get each week one convoy in each of these three sectors," she said.

Foa said many of the victims of "ethnic cleansing" in the eastern zones who have reached Tuzla had lost an average 20 kilograms (44 pounds) in body weight and were so thin they no longer resembled their identity paper photos.

Several had suffered frostbite, which had caused some to lose fingers or toes, she said. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR Forced To Close Sarajevo Airport

LD1302212993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2102 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 13 (TANJUG)—The U.N. peacekeeping force in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) was on Saturday [13 February] forced to close Sarajevo airport after all available storage warehouses were filled by a boycott of humanitarian aid.

UNPROFOR said on Saturday it would not be able to accept new relief aid shipments until some of the stockpiled quantity was distributed.

The Bosnian authorities turned down today a demand by UNPROFOR for aid to be transported from the airport.

The closure of the airport has also prevented UNHCR special envoy Jose Maria Mendiluce from arriving in Sarajevo today, as planned.

The authorities in Tuzla, about 80 kilometres north-east of the Bosnian capital, have also refused to accept aid as a sign of solidarity with tens of thousands of Muslims encircled by Serbs in Eastern Bosnia, UNPROFOR spokesman Sergio Appolonio said in Zagreb today.

Aid To Resume Only After Cease-Fire Agreed

LD1402175293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1716 GMT 14 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Pale, Feb 14 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and special envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Jose Maria Mendiluce on Sunday reached agreement that a ceasefire should first be concluded and only them humanitarian aid corridors opened in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Karadzic said Bosnian Serb authorities had never blocked the flow of humanitarian assistance, except when their civilized gesture was abused by the Bosnian Moslems, who used the corridors thus opened to infiltrate terrorist groups and commit crimes against civilian populations.

Moslem forces murdered over 200 civilians in Serb villages in eastern Bosnia in January and February this year alone, Karadzic said.

Mendiluce said the Moslem authorities' suspension of aid deliveries to Sarajevo's citizens was ill-advised, while Karadzic said that by doing so the Moslems were looking for new political gains on the international scene by once again blaming the Bosnian Serbs for Sarajevo's troubles.

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] on Saturday closed Sarajevo airport after the city's Moslem authorities' refusal to accept relief aid filled warehouses to overflowing. General Philippe Morillon, the UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, on Saturday described the Moslem authorities' decision "extremely irresponsible."

The Moslem authorities in Sarajevo, supported by their leader Alija Izetbegovic, on Saturday decided to stop accepting all humanitarian assistance for Sarajevo because, they claim, "Eastern Bosnia has for weeks been cut off from all aid".

'Aggressor' Preventing Aid From Reaching Bosnia

AU1502094593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93

[Text] Stjepan Siber, deputy chief of staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, has sent a protest note to the commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] for Bosnia-Hercegovina and the former Yugoslavia and the UN Security Council, which states the following:

On 11 February 1993, we were informed by the UNHCR [United Nations High Commission for Refugees] that a convoy with aid for Cerska will arrive on 14 February and that the inspection was going to be carried out on 13 February. With assurances from General Morillon that Chetniks would not obstruct the delivery of aid, a request was made on 14 February at 2000 that the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina order a stop to combat activities throughout east Bosnia as the condition for the convoy that arrived in Zvornik be let through to Kamenica, Konjevic Polje and Cerska, which was [words indistinct] ordered.

However, on the same day at 2200, UNHCR representative Larry Hollingworth stated via UNPROFOR that large aggressor forces are amassing in Zvornik and that the aggressors will most certainly not allow the distribution of aid. Our conclusion is that the aggressor does not want hostilities to stop nor the aid to be distributed to hungry citizens of east Bosnia.

Therefore, we protest and insist that UNPROFOR and the UNHCR responsibly and correctly, without making concessions to the aggressor, carry out their duty and immediately secure the transit of the scheduled convoys so that yet another collective tragedy of the people of the internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Hercegovina can be prevented.

Agreement Reached on Opening Aid Corridor

LD1402212293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1816 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, February 14 (TANJUG)—United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) special envoy Jose-Maria Mendiluce and representative of the Bosnian Serb organization for refugees Ljubisa Vladusic on Sunday [14 February] agreed on the opening of a humanitarian corridor from Zagreb to Banja Luka and further to central Bosnia.

At a meeting at Pale near Sarajevo, it was specified that the corridor should be used exclusively for humanitarian purposes and that the Serb Army should secure the section between Gradiska, on the border of northern Bosnia and Croatia, and Turbe in central Bosnia, reported the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA.

The Moslem authorities and their leader Alija Izetbegovic have decided to block the inflow of humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina's capital of Sarajevo as of Saturday.

Senior officials of the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in former Yugoslavia and international humanitarian organizations have strongly condemned the decision, the result of which will be hundreds of thousands of starving civilians.

Vladusic and Mendiluce also agreed to put up an UNPROFOR check point on the Kiseljak-Ilidza road near Sarajevo to secure fast passage of convoys.

Vladusic asked Mendiluce to use his authority to influence the Moslem side to stop war operations in areas where humanitarian convoys pass through.

Mendiluce promised help in settling the problem, said SRNA.

Bosnian Army, Croatians Agree on Cease-Fire

LD1302204893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Here is a report from Gornji Vakuf, where a meeting was held between representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina [BiH] Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO].

A meeting which promised peace has ended in Gornji Vakuf. The outcome of the meeting at 1200 today between EC observers, representatives of the BiH Army, the HVO, and the UN Protection Force, UNPROFOR, was that the following points were agreed upon, in addition to the agreements reached on 7 and 9 February 1993:

1. The withdrawal of all units and military equipment—as agreed upon at this meeting—will begin on Monday 15 February at 0800 [0700 GMT]. The withdrawal will be supervised by the teams, as per the agreement [words indistinct] of 9 February 1993.

2. All heavy military equipment of 70-mm and larger may be transferred from present locations to the original frontline which existed prior the conflict.

3. Defense mechanisms will be dismantled and destroyed by the units possessing them, and before these units are disbanded [words indistinct]. The observers will ensure that these defense mechanisms are destroyed and that they cannot be taken by either side.

4. The commanders agree to continue to exercise their authority in order to prevent cease-fire violations, as agreed earlier, and to establish peace and order with help from international bodies. A [word indistinct] joint committee, consisting of three members each from the HVO and the BiH Army, will work toward this aim. The committee will also include a command representative

from both sides. They will work on resolving all possible problems and differences. [passage omitted]

Joint Body Established

AU1202132893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 11 Feb 93

[Text] Our correspondent Akif Agic reports that a relative peace reigns in Gornji Vakuf. Small arms fire can be heard but it is nevertheless calmer than during earlier days. Our correspondent reports that older Muslim families have issued an open letter, in which they tell their Croatian neighbors that despite everything that has happened, they are going to share everything for better or for worse and continue to live in good-neighborly relations in the future as well.

We hope that the following order will also please not only Gornji Vakuf citizens:

On the basis of the joint agreement by the chief of the Supreme Command of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the head of the main command of the Croatian Defense Council, Sefer Halilovic and Milivoj Petkovic today issued the following order with a view to preventing further disagreements and clashes between the units of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Croatian Defense Council of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and organizing a joint struggle against the aggressor:

Hadzihasanovic and Blaskic, commander of the 3d Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and commander of the operations zone of the Croatian Defense Council of central Bosnia respectively, are going to create a joint coordination team consisting of three members of each side. The joint team will be headed by the abovementioned gentlemen and has the following duties and powers:

—to issue joint orders;

—to issue the order to both sides' units to leave the positions between the Croatian Defense Council and the Army immediately, to fill in all trenches and bunkers made for this purpose, and to transfer their troops to positions opposing the aggressor;

—to remove all barricades and obstacles in the zone covered by them;

—urgently to enable the population to return home and ensure unhampered communication along all the roads;

—to create the conditions for the restoration of the legal authorities as well;

—to issue the order for all units of both sides which have been brought in from other regions to be urgently withdrawn to positions they held before the clashes broke out;

—to visit all places where clashes have occurred and to establish the situation, the motives, and the responsibility of individuals;

—to resolve immediately, on the spot, and personally any possible incidents that may arise;

—to release all prisoners, particularly civilians, immediately and unconditionally;

The period for the realization of this is as follows: Effective immediately, it should be completed by 15 February 1993 at 1200 at the latest, when a written report should be submitted as well.

The existing coordination team of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Croatian Defense Council in Gornji Vakuf has the same duties established in point one of this order and it is going to expand its authority to the town of Bugojno (?as well). The coordination team formed in Mostar and headed by Lasic, commander of the southeastern Hercegovina operations zone, and Pasalic, commander of the 4th Corps, will implement duties from point one of this order in the zone covered by them. They are immediately going to direct their activities to the Konjic-Jablanica region.

All coordination teams [as heard] from points 1, 2, and 3 of this order also have the task of preparing proposals for the composition of a joint command in the zones covered by them on the basis of the agreement between Izetbegovic and Boban.

All commanders must take the earliest possible measures to open the roads and ensure normal traffic on them. In the case of any violation of free and unhampered communications, the Supreme Command of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the main command of the Croatian Defense Council should be immediately informed and engaged. All convoys stopped should be released immediately and confiscated goods immediately returned to the owners.

The order was signed by Sefer Halilovic, head of the Headquarters of the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Brigadier Milivoj Petkovic, head of the main headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council.

Clashes Continue Despite Agreement

AU1202141093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Despite the order issued by Sefer Halilovic to the members of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Milivoj Petkovic to units of the Croatian Defense Council, clashes in Gornji Vakuf continued during the night.

Colonels Esad Ramic and Demir Bijedic, members of the state commission, who will attend the announced meeting of the commanders of the 3d and 4th Corps with

the head of the Main Command of the Croatian Defense Council, have arrived in Gornji Vakuf from Mostar. The goal of the meeting is the implementation of the said order.

Here is what our correspondent Akif Agic reported from Gornji Vakuf about last night's clashes:

[Begin Agic recording] Fierce battles were waged in Gornji Vakuf last night. More than 200 shells have been [word indistinct] and infantry battles are incessant. Exactly at 0100, the region of Bistrica was fiercely shelled; this was followed by an infantry assault. Of course, this assault was also repulsed.

Units of the Croatian Defense Council were launching infantry and artillery attacks at the region of Vrse during the entire day yesterday. You are not going to step up here, was the message of the brave Vrse defenders.

The Croatian Defense Council failed to obey even a single one of all truces agreed to date. Last night, a joint announcement and orders were issued by Sefer Halilovic, head of the Headquarters of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Milivoj Petkovic, commander of the Main Command of the Croatian Defense Council. This was followed by a veritable cannonade of shells launched by the Croatian Defense Council at Gornji Vakuf. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Tension Seen as 'Easing'

AU1502180293

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1400 GMT on 15 February carries in its regular 35-minute newscast several reports on the results of the recently signed cease-fire between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council in central Bosnia.

The studio announcer says that "the tension between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council in central Bosnia is easing, although the units of the Croatian Defense Council are still occasionally violating the agreed cease-fire. There was sniper fire in Gornji Vakuf yesterday, while sporadic fire from small arms could be heard in Kacuni, Merdani, and Solakovici, all villages belonging to the Busovaca commune. If one is to go by the actual events in central Bosnia, following the meeting between Sefer Halilovic and Milivoje Petkovic, one can expect complete pacification of the tension and clashes."

Mujo Delibegovic reports from Zenica that "carrying out the order issued on 11 February by Sefer Halilovic, commander of the Supreme Command of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces, and Milovoje Petkovic, commander of the Headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council, a meeting was arranged on Saturday in Kakanj between Enver Hadzihasanovic, commander of the Third Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, and Tihomir Blaskic, commander of the Croatian Defense Council Operative Zone Central Bosnia. The meeting was held under the auspices of the United Nations and the EC, chaired by Jeremy (?Fleming), chairman of the EC mixed observing mission. A joint statement was issued, that a joint coordination team was formed at the meeting, comprised of Dzemal Merdan, Serif Hadzic, and Vezir Jusuf (?Papig) on behalf of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army 3d Corps, and Franjo Nakic, Marko Prskalo, and Mario Rajic on behalf of the Croatian Defense Council Operative Zone Central Bosnia."

Izudin Sahovic reports from Mostar that "the representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army 4th Corps and the Croatian Defense Council Headquarters have contributed greatly to the pacification of the clashes in central Bosnia, and the alleviation of the tension that had spread from Gornji Vukuf and Busovaca to Hercegovina. This is what Arif Pasalic, commander of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army 4th Corps, said at today's news conference in Mostar.

"All the units that had come from outside were supposed to start withdrawing this morning and, according to the agreement, the Croatian Defense Council and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army will secure them safe passage through the regions under their control. The 4th Corps is in close touch with the Croatian Defense Council in Hercegovina and, according to the agreement, they are forming a coordination team that will issue joint orders to the units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council in order to ensure full and stable cooperation in the struggle against the common enemy." He quotes Arif Pasalic, commander of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army 4th Corps, as saying that "despite the statement by the Croatian Defense Council military police that Juka Prazina [leader of a Muslim paramilitary unit] was placed in isolation, Prazina was seen with his men at the checkpoint near Salakovac mistreating Muslim drivers, confiscating money and other valuables from them, while six people were beaten up. After our reiterated warning, Pasalic added, the Croatian Defense Council issued an order that Juka Prazina and his men be removed from that checkpoint, which is what happened as I could see for myself as I passed Salakovac yesterday, Pasalic said.

"The headquarters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army 4th Corps is completing the case against Juka Prazina and will deliver it to the Croatian Defense Council by the end of this week. It is expected that the demands of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army will be met and this case closed once and for all, said Pasalic at the end of today's news conference in Mostar."

Main Points Not Yet Implemented

AU1602143593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Akif Agic report from Gonji Vakuf]

[Text] The cease-fire in Gornji Vakuf is being observed to a great extent. True enough, sporadic small arms fire

can still be heard and there is also sporadic artillery fire. However, what is worrying is the disregard for the points agreed.

In fact, none of the main points has been implemented. All prisoners have still not been released, the International Committee of the Red Cross claims. In Prozor alone there are more than (?60). They are mostly people who got stranded in [words indistinct] during the clashes, and their only crime was that they were Muslims from Gornji Vakuf. They were interned at the beginning of the clashes and have still not been released.

Another equally important point—the withdrawal of all military formations that are not indigenous to this commune—again has not been realized, at least not for the time being. The excuse for this is that Tihomir Plavsic, commander of the Headquarters of the Croatian Defense Council for Central Bosnia, must be seen in connection with this. He should confirm by word-of-mouth to Mr. [name indistinct] that his men must pull out of Gornji Vakuf, as written assurances hardly mean anything to him.

This did not perplex Mr. (Raymond Lanette), member of the team of European and international observers, who immediately obtained armored personnel carriers. The joint commissions are expected to reach Vitez already today, where the withdrawal of all the formations will either be confirmed by word-of-mouth or there will be yet another [word indistinct] in delaying the implementation of the agreed points.

Muslim 'Occupation' Forces Remain

LD1602221993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Colonel Dario Kordic, vice president of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, has assessed that the decision by the Croat Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army on the withdrawal of all foreign [stranih] units from the municipalities of Busovaca and Kiseljak, has not been implemented.

The Krajina Muslim brigade and units of the 1st and 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army are still there as forces of occupation, Kordic added. For this reason, he continued, 2,700 Croats have not returned to their homes in about 10 purely Croat or mixed villages in the area between Kacun and Brestovsko.

This begs the question of where they can return to, because over 90 percent of Croat houses have been burned down, destroyed, or plundered.

In contrast to this, Muslims are completely safe and receiving the same aid as Croats in parts of the Busovaca municipality under HVO control. Of all municipalities in central Bosnia, the smallest number of conflicts is reported in Travnik, although there are numerous Muslim units in the town.

Karadzic Threatens Gorazde if Offensive Continues

LD1502102593 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] The Muslims can lose nothing by negotiating except what they have never had the right to—domination of the Serbs and Croats. The best solution would be for the Muslim nation to force its unreasonable politicians to accept the peace document which would bring the war to an end in one or two weeks. Then we can negotiate, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina], said last night in an interview for Serb Republic Television and Studio S.

As confirmation of the unreasonableness of the Muslim leadership, Karadzic notes the latest offensive launched from Gorazde on Cajnice. We cannot let them kill our civilians as in the Bratunac region, in Skelani, and in Visegrad, so we will have to go back and retake Gorazde. This will again create an outcry in the world, Karadzic stressed.

Turkey cannot return to the Balkans. Ozal's stories about a Turkish-Bosnian state have finally opened the eyes of the Bulgarians, Greeks, Romanians, and Russians, Karadzic said adding that if the Muslims continue their offensives they, like 'Arafat, could lose everything and become only a memory.

At the end of his interview, Radovan Karadzic told the Serb fighters that regardless of the negotiations they will have the final word about the future and the people will decide where and how they will live.

'Great Problems' Remain in Prisoner Exchange Issue

LD1502222893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic has accepted in principle an exchange of prisoners, but great problems remain regarding the exact number of prisoners listed by the warring sides. Bernard Kouchner, French minister of health and humanitarian action, stated this on his arrival in Zagreb this evening.

Minister Kouchner, who visited Sarajevo in an attempt to broker an exchange of prisoners in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that Izetbegovic presented a list of 16,000 prisoners, while official reports speak of 1,227 prisoners. At the same time, Kouchner said, Radovan Karadzic stressed that the Serbs had released 5,000 people and the Muslims 400 so far. All this has to be reconsidered, Kouchner said, adding that it would be ideal if prisoners were to be exchanged on the basis of the all-for-all principle.

He hinted that an exchange of prisoners could take place near Lipovac tomorrow. The exchange is due to be supervised by French Ambassadors Victorio Guidi and Henry Jacquolini. According to information available to

Kouchner, 104 Croats and Muslims from the Batkovici camp are due to be exchanged for 108 Serbs from Livno and Turcini near Sarajevo.

The French minister of health and humanitarian action said he will try to organize a gathering of representatives of all warring sides, to discuss problems of health, wounded people, and other health issues in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Minister Kouchner will leave Zagreb for Paris this evening following talks with Croatian Deputy Prime Minister Mate Granic.

'Technical Difficulties' Delay Swap of Prisoners

AU1602162493 Paris AFP in English 1613 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 16 (AFP)—A three-way swap of Serb, Moslem and Croat prisoners in Bosnia-Hercegovina arranged by French Health and Humanitarian Action Minister Bernard Kouchner and tentatively planned for Tuesday [16 February] failed to take place as a result of procedural and technical difficulties.

U.N. Protection Force spokesman Barry Frewer said the exchange could take place Wednesday [17 February], or—more likely—"in the coming days."

Commander Frewer said the problems centred on verifications of the names on the three lists, and the physical arrangements for the releases.

He recalled that an exchange of prisoners scheduled some weeks ago after five weeks of preparation had collapsed at the last minute after one name was found to be missing from a list.

Kouchner succeeded in arranging the swap in Sarajevo Monday [15 February] after intensive consultations with leaders of the three communities.

The exchanges will take place under the supervision of the newly appointed French ambassador to Bosnia-Hercegovina, Henry Jacolin, and European Community representative Vittorio Ghidi.

Kouchner said 212 prisoners would be liberated.

The Serbs will free 54 Moslems and 50 Croats held at the Batkovici camp in northern Bosnia, at nearby Bosanska Raca, and at Sremska Raca, which is across the Sava River in Serbia.

The Bosnian government will free 54 Serbs held at disused grain silos at Tarcin, southwest of Sarajevo, and the Croats will free 54 Serbs held at Livno, in the south, Kouchner said.

Kouchner arranged the swap after five days of negotiations in Zagreb, Belgrade, the Serb stronghold of Pale outside Sarajevo, with Croats at nearby Kiseljak, and in the Bosnian capital, driving from Belgrade to Sarajevo through the frontlines.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic initially rejected the swap, saying the Serbs held 16,000 prisoners against fewer than 1,000 held by the Bosnian Government, but agreed to it after two days of talks with Kouchner.

The minister said official figures showed the Bosnian Government held 779 prisoners, the Serbs 1,225 and the Croats 537.

Izetbegovic Allegedly Threatened With Putsch

LD1602164793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1629 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Rome, February 16 (TANJUG)—Several Italian dailies on Tuesday signalled a possible putsch in Bosnia-Hercegovina to topple Alija Izetbegovic.

Izetbegovic's decision to prevent humanitarian aid from reaching the citizens of Sarajevo and Muslims elsewhere in Bosnia is an "ordered tragedy" which could grow into a "biblical catastrophe", daily IL GIORNALE said.

The largest-circulation Italian daily CORRIERE DELLA SERA said it was "obvious that Bosnian president is becoming extremely radical, probably because Muslim Army leadership threatens him with a putsch."

"Izetbegovic's decision, a kind of collective suicide, was brought under a putsch threat coming into sight," economic-political daily IL SOLE 24 ORE wrote. In the past few days, the president has been sharply criticized by the military for his alleged indulgency and readiness to negotiate on the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the daily said.

New UNPROFOR Commander in Sarajevo Named

AU1502122793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Text] Egyptian General Husayn Abdel Razzak left Sarajevo today after having commanded UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] troops in the Sarajevo sector for six months. The new commander of the UN peace troops in the Sarajevo region will be French Colonel (Marcel Valenten).

Speaking to reporters at the UNPROFOR headquarters in Sarajevo today, General Razzak said that he hoped that a solution to the tragedy of the citizens of Sarajevo and all residents of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be possible. In his message to the citizens of Sarajevo, General Razzak said that he is praying for permanent peace and that the enormous suffering of the innocent people and the hunger of children will end soon. Children in particular must be shown the way to a new beginning founded on the multiethnic and multinational (?character) of UNPROFOR and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, whose governments have left old conflicts and misunderstandings behind them and are now working together to help people in trouble.

This was stated by General Razzak on his departure from Sarajevo.

Army Commander Views Sarajevo Military Status

AU1602201293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] During the last few days, the aggressor has been fiercely attacking Sarajevo, while the Azici-Stup defense line has been exposed to particularly ferocious fire. Mustafa Hajrulakovic-Talijan, commander of the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, granted an interview to OSLOBODJENJE, saying that, on the very day that the cease-fire was signed under the UN Protection Force's auspices for the repair of the water, electricity, and natural gas facilities, the Chetniks attacked our positions on the Azici-Stup route. They fired from seven tanks, seven personnel carriers [transporters], and several Praga, and because of that our lines were moved a bit, so they are now on the reserve positions. Our fighters are now firmly holding the new defense lines, Mustafa Hajrulakovic-Talijan said. Asked if the Chetniks could achieve their aim and link up with Nedjarici via the Stup turnpike, the commander of the 1st Corps emphatically said that the Chetniks did not stand a chance of getting at Stup, let alone the Stup turnpike. He added that today, despite the heavy Chetnik attacks, there has been no further movement of the lines, which were firmly in the hands of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces.

Krajina Serbs Propose Draft UNSC Resolution

LD1602230693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2154 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], which has started talks with Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia, have submitted to them a draft resolution for the Security Council which, according to the Krajina Serbs, will permit Serb-Croat disputes on the territory of former Yugoslavia to be resolved in a just way.

The draft resolution, which the RSK Foreign Ministry has forwarded to TANJUG, proposes that the Security Council demand an urgent cease-fire between the armed forces of the Republic of Croatia and the RSK and that, under strengthened UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] supervision, the Croatian forces start withdrawing to positions prior to the aggression, in line with Resolution 802, and to withdraw from the Miljevacki plateau, in line with Resolution 762.

Following the Croatian withdrawal, the draft states, the two sides are urged to start peace negotiations to establish the points of departure for a lasting peace and a process of mutual territorial separation.

Both sides pledge to reduce the number of their soldiers under arms to the number of soldiers in peacetime, and that the current UNPROFOR forces should take over control of the border between the Republic of Croatia and the RSK.

According to this draft, the Security Council will demand that both sides opt for negotiations leading to a speedy normalization of equal economic, transport, trade, cultural, and other relations.

The proposers of the draft resolution suggest that all UN members accept the fact that the Serbian and Croatian communities in the former Socialist Republic of Croatia are not prepared to coexist in one state and help the two communities to find a solution to how to live in separate states.

In the draft, Serbs from Krajina propose that if this resolution is violated by any side, the Security Council should apply measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter to ensure implementation of the resolution.

The Krajina delegation submitted to Vance and Owen a memorandum on Croat-Serb relations together with their historical background especially in light of what has in Croatia in the past three years.

UN Envoy Writes Butrus-Ghali on Mandate

LD1302013093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 12 Feb 93

[Text] In the wake of the latest report by UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali on United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] activities on Croatian territory, Mario Nobilio, Croatia's ambassador to the United Nations, has sent a letter to the UN secretary general. In it, he writes that Croatia appreciates the UN Security Council's work and that of the secretary general, as well as their efforts to find lasting solutions to the crisis in the area of the former Yugoslavia. In this context, the Croatian Government is willing to cooperate fully with the United Nations because it hopes for a peaceful solution and an end to hostilities in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

However, regarding UNPROFOR's activities within Croatia, we have to point out that the Republic of Croatia approaches this matter as a sovereign country and a UN member and upholds its right to decide independently whether it will accept the further presence of UNPROFOR soldiers on its territory. Croatia supports the secretary general's proposition that the existing UNPROFOR mandate be temporarily extended until 31 March. This will provide enough time for major negotiations on extending the UNPROFOR mandate to take place, as well as for the adoption of a new resolution by the UN Security Council regarding this matter. We suggest that during this period, until 31 March of this year, a new round of talks should take place, within the framework of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, on the special status of those areas where Serbs were in the majority before the war, and on other issues in regard to minority policies and the protection of human rights in Croatia.

The Croatian Government is willing to extend UNPROFOR's mandate, but we have to tie our final decision to necessary and essential changes to the approach and operational setup of UNPROFOR's existing activities. It is the Croatian Government's firm opinion that a new mandate of the UN peace forces on Croatian territory must be based on the principles of efficient action, leading to the restoration of peace. Croatia points out the importance of the implementation of a number of crucial elements on which the continuation of the UNPROFOR mandate in the Republic of Croatia must be based:

The voluntary and unconditional return of refugees and the displaced to their homes in the United Nations Protected Areas [UNPA] is exceptionally important in order to put an end to ethnic cleansing.

The complete and effective disarmament of all paramilitary units and so-called militias within the UNPA areas and the destruction of their heavy weapons or strict UN supervision over them is the first precondition for the full demilitarization of UNPA areas and the introduction of local police forces in line with the general principles of the Vance plan.

One of UNPROFOR's most significant tasks during its new mandate is the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 769; that is, UNPROFOR's strict supervision of certain border areas in Croatia where the boundaries of UNPA areas coincide with Croatia's internationally recognized borders. This action, along with

the full demilitarization of the UNPA and pink areas, will create a new political weapon that will enable the people living in these areas to get rid of their warlords and other extremists and to begin restoring the post-war trust that will establish coexistence without violence among the people who live there.

The Croatian Army will remain outside the pink zones and is willing, as a sign of goodwill, to withdraw its forces up to 10 kilometers from the present UNPA boundaries. In response, Croatia expects the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to withdraw 10 kms from the Danube and other parts of the Croatian border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This can be achieved only if UNPROFOR goes immediately into action, following which the UNPA zones will be demilitarized completely. Mario Nobilio's letter to the UN secretary general stresses that this is the most significant boost to the peace process on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Slovenia, Croatia Dispute Border Territory

AU1602113693 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 93 p 6

[HINA report: "Croatia Stops Cutting Down Disputed Woods"]

[Text] Zagreb—Following the demand of the Republic of Slovenia (note of 4 February 1993) that the Croatian authorities suspend the cutting down of woods by the Delnice Wood Industries in the border area and the Slovene claims to this territory until the exact border line in that area is determined, the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Croatia issued the following statement:

"In response to the original demand of the Republic of Slovenia (note of 24 August 1992) to suspend the cutting down of the woods in the disputed region, the Croatian Foreign Ministry sent to Slovenia an explanation of the Croatian Ministry for Agriculture and Forestry in which the status regarding the land registration of the disputed area was explained in detail. This explanation specifies that while the area was entered in the land registers of both states, since 1933 the Slovene forestry authority has not been in charge of that land. Since 1933 the disputed area has been under the continual authority of the Croatian forestry authority, and today it is administered by the company 'Croatian Forests.' In response to the repeated demand of the Republic of Slovenia (4 February 1993), in view of the agreement by the foreign ministers of Croatia and Slovenia on 3 February 1993, the Croatian Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, in agreement with the Foreign Ministry, on 10 February 1993 ordered a suspension of the cutting down of the woods in the disputed area, which is registered in the land registry of Prezid municipality (and which is, however, registered in Slovenia in the land registry of Sneznik municipality), and that the already felled trees are to be removed from the woods to prevent material loss. The Croatian Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry will contact the Slovene Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry to discuss the disputed technical details, while the border problem is to be solved by the two governments. The Slovene Foreign Ministry was today officially informed of all these measures by the Slovene Embassy in Zagreb."

Ministers Discuss Disputed Area

AU1602113993 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 93 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Across the Border—Quickly and Safely"]

[Text] Otocec on the Krka—The Slovene and Croatian Interior Ministry delegations met on Wednesday [17 February] in Otocec on the Krka, and after the meeting Ministers Ivan Bizjak and Ivan Jarnjak made statements for the press. On that occasion, Minister Bizjak said that it had been a working meeting at which they had discussed all open questions, which had been successfully resolved so far.

Bizjak underlined that the cooperation of the two Ministries had been successfully developing since the two states were founded. He announced as further steps the implementation of the Brioni agreement, as well as the joint fight against terrorism, organized crime, and drug smuggling. It has also been agreed that a proposal on the agreement on extradition will be made by 10 March.

Border conflicts were also discussed at the meeting. It has been concluded that such conflicts must be solved at the very beginning to prevent more complex situations developing. The question of borders, which actually generates the majority of current problems and makes the situation more difficult, needs to be handled sooner and better.

Jarnjak told reporters he had found in Bizjak a very good partner, with whom, as well as with the former minister, he had found collective solutions. He stressed that the most important thing is to reach agreement in view of the upcoming tourist season. One has to do everything possible to make guests feel safe, and to ensure they can cross the borders quickly and smoothly, yet under observation.

"It has also been agreed" Jarnjak continued, "that a meeting of ministers' aides and heads of police headquarters from both sides of the border will be held, so that they can get to know one another." Jarnjak also stressed that they both believe there is no problem that cannot be solved through dialogue and agreement.

They did not discuss Piran Bay much, because the Croatian Government had sent a letter regarding the matter to the Slovene Government, which is still being considered. "In any case, the ministries find it very important to establish the border line as soon as possible," Jarnjak said. The question regarding the cutting down of the woods in Gorski Kotar, was poorly

answered, it being said that the Interior Ministries had suggested the issue be resolved by the Agriculture Ministries.

Hadzic, Paspalj Outline Expectations of Talks

AU1502213093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Interview with Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, and Mile Paspalj, chairman of the Parliament of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, by Zoran Jevdjovic at the Belgrade airport prior to their departure for New York "this morning"—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Mr. Hadzic, what do you expect from the talks in New York in the coming days?

[Hadzic] I expect the talks to be constructive, but I also expect certain pressures to be exerted on us. We are ready for all pressures and we are also ready to tell both the cochairmen [of the Conference on Yugoslavia Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance] and the entire world the truth about the Serbian people and the only possible solution which is to separate the Serbian and Croatian people. That would ensure lasting peace in these regions.

[Jevdjovic] Let us explain once more: The first invitation to New York was declined and this one was accepted. What was the difference?

[Hadzic] The first invitation was not acceptable. It was not even adequately addressed. The invitation referred.... [pauses] in fact they invited us to have talks with the Croatian delegation, among others, but we said that we are not going to talk with the Croatian delegation under these conditions—as long as Croatia does not withdraw to its original positions and stops shooting. This second invitation exclusively refers to talks with the cochairmen of the conference, which we accepted. In fact, we had to accept that, because it is also our position that these problems should be solved through agreeing, that is, talks and negotiations, and not war.

[Jevdjovic] Are there already some hints as to what is expected of you there and what Vance and Owen are going to offer?

[Hadzic] Well, Vance and Owen are probably going to exert pressure on us in order to solve this problem politically, that is, possibly to seek a political solution within Croatia. We cannot accept such a political solution without a decision by our people. We are going to say there that we accept every democratic decision by the people, that is, the people must state their view in a referendum, and I do not doubt that this is going to be done in that way.

[Jevdjovic] As the assembly chairman, what can you say about this issue? Will one wait for the decision of the Krajina people on the negotiations and about what the world or the cochairmen will ask of you?

[Paspalj] Well, we have made a decision through a referendum once and the people's will was expressed. As the president has said, pressure on us to solve the problem within the framework of political solutions within Croatia will certainly be great. Our position is clear, however: We can only speak as equal partners, two peoples, two states and we only accept such talks. I think that this is the solution.

My second expectation of the talks there is that the world will express a certain amount gratitude to us for saving the respect of the United Nations. A UN member attacked the United Nations, and we were saving the honor of both the soldiers and the United Nations itself. I think that we are nevertheless going to receive some gratitude for this humanitarian act of ours.

[Jevdjovic] Tell us, considering the present military and diplomatic position, what is in fact going to be your explicit demand?

[Paspalj] Well, our explicit demand is that following the decision in Resolution 802, Croatia should withdraw from the occupied territories in the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Second, the proposal we are going to make is that if the world and the international community want a lasting peace in the territories of the former Yugoslavia, they would have to put the Republic of Croatia under its protectorate or its supervision, because throughout its history it has been a constant source of evil and conflict.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you, Mr. Paspalj.

Serb Official on Krajina Government Changes

AU1502215393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 15 Feb 93

[Report by Dragutin Spaic]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Taking part in a Knin Radio phone-in program, Milan Martic, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, said that the situation on the front is stable and favorable. Later, assessing the latest government session at which some ministers were relieved of duty, he said that Defense Minister (Stojan) Spanovic was replaced in an irregular way. He said that Spanovic was replaced at the worst possible moment and that he [Martic] also tendered his resignation, which was not accepted. In his words, Krajina owes a debt to this man who has left and he is now sorry that he [Martic] had not given hia irrevocable resignation.

Martic says that the balance of power in the government that has achieved these replacements is the one that has been turned toward the officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army for a long time.

Martic also denied President Hadzic's statement that mobilization in Knin was only 70 percent, saying that he was given false data. In Martic's opinion, the Krajina

parliament should provide answers to many questions, and he believes that parliament should hold a session urgently.

In reply to a listener's question, Martic said that he would welcome the formation of a national salvation government.

Serb Krajina Information Minister Resigns

LD1602164193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1146 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Knin, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Dusan Ecimovic, minister of information in the Government of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), submitted his irrevocable resignation to the RSK Assembly. Ecimovic explains his resignation by "the deepest moral, human, patriotic, and political reasons."

Aid Supply Base To Move From Zagreb to Italy

LD1602165093 Hamburg DPA in German 1607 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Bonn (DPA)—The base for the humanitarian airlift to supply the starving people of Sarajevo is to move from Zagreb to Italy by Thursday [18 February]. The German Air Force is transferring its two Transall aircraft to an airport in the central Italian town of Ancona, the Air Force press office announced in Bonn today. In the future, the British and Canadians will also fly to the Bosnian capital from Italy. [passage omitted]

RSK Army Reports Continued Croatian Offensive

LD1602151693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1359 GMT 16 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, Feb 16 (TANJUG)—Croatia's offensive on the southern part of the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) continues on Tuesday [16 February].

The RSK Army command reports fighting on all major sections of the northern Dalmatian battlefront, including the Maslenica-Obrovac and the Posedarje-Novigrad sections.

The Croatian Army is also attacking from the hinterland of the Croatian Adriatic town of Zadar. The attacks are aimed towards the northwest and the east, with strong shelling of the villages in the Skradin hinterland.

Fighting has been reported in the broader area of Drnis, where the villages of Zitnic and Kadina Glavica have been shelled from Croatian multiple rocket launchers although Croatian refugees have sought shelter there, the RSK Army command says.

Exchanges continue in the broader area of Novigrad, where the Croatian Army command has brought infantry troops. Several attempts to penetrate the front have been curbed, with the RSK Army suffering no casualties, the command adds.

Croatia continues to mobilize fresh troops and transfer them to the broader area of Teslingrad in Lika in the U.N.-protected Sector South.

It is also building up military presence in eastern Slavonia in the U.N.-protected Sector East, from Vinkovci towards Nustar and from Osijek towards Sarvas, the RSK command says.

Villages Near Zadar Suffer Artillery Attacks

LD1602195893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Report from Zadar by correspondent Tone Pajkin]

[Text] Biograd and nearby villages have been bombarded with shells of various calibers throughout today. The first attack on Biograd was recorded at around 1230, another one from 1300-1330, and the last one around 1730. Over 20 destructive shells, which Serb paramilitary units have been firing from positions near Biograd, fell on Biograd in the first attack. The attacks intensified this evening.

According to available information, there have been no casualties, but material damage is certainly extensive because about 100 shells fell on Biograd today.

A general alert has been in force since last night. A power cut will certainly make the life of the Biograd citizens, who are in shelters, more difficult. The entire Zadar power distribution area, from Biograd to the island of Pag, was left without electricity just before 1700. It has been learned that a serious failure has occurred on the main supply line has occurred, so it cannot be said when electricity will be restored. It seems that this will be some time tomorrow.

Although media attention was focused on Biograd today, this has been another war day in the Zadar hinterland. Information that enemy artillery has been incessantly pounding all battle lines under the control of the Croatian Army since 1000 this morning testifies to the ferocity of the clashes in the hinterland. The fiercest clashes were waged in the Novigrad area and in Paljuv, and the Galovac area is being attacked this evening. The Croatian Army is responding fiercely.

Official Says Serbs Ready To Launch New Attack

AU1202112393 Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 93 pp 5, 6

[Excerpts of interview with Ivan Milas, Deputy Prime Minister of the Croatian Government and head of the State Committee for Relations with United Nations Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], by Davor Butkovic; place and date not given: "The UN Troops Are Posing Alongside Serbian Howitzers;"]

[Excerpts]*Ivan Milas, deputy prime minister of the Croatian Government, has been present in the state and party top rank ever since the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] first came to power. First as a deputy in Parliament, and later as president of the very influential Parliamentary Committee for Appointments. A lawyer by profession, today Milas is at the head of the State Committee for Relations with UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces].*

[Butkovic] How would you estimate UNPROFOR's behavior since the beginning of the Croatian military operation in the Zadar hinterland?

[Milas] In a certain sense, the latest events mark the failure of the UN Forces' mission in Croatia. They have largely failed to carry out their most important duties: They did not disarm the Serbian rebels, they have not reestablished transportation through the occupied territories, they have not made possible the return of the refugees, and they have not established legitimate authorities. Therefore, UNPROFOR's latest behavior should be viewed in the context of their failure to implement the Vance plan. However, we must admit that the UN Forces have helped stop the war in Croatia, that, metaphorically speaking, the chetniks are no longer firing at Zagreb as they were towards the end of last year.

When I say that UNPROFOR's mission, as it was defined a year ago, failed, I am aware that they did not have the instruments or the authority fully to implement the Vance plan in Croatia. UNPROFOR found itself in the role of a monitor and a powerless incumbent. Their behavior is a reflection of their powerlessness. They tried negotiating to achieve something that had to be achieved by force. They even shut their eyes to confirmed facts.

We have photographs showing that the Serbian rebels were not disarmed. We have photographs of a ceremony of the "Krajina's" so-called 92d Benkovac Brigade, which took place in Benkovac last summer. The photographs clearly show the presence of heavy weaponry. We also have photographs taken in Knin and Drnis which show the latest Yugoslav tanks, 105-mm Howitzers, antiaircraft guns, and armored vehicles with antiaircraft guns and rocket launchers. All were taken last summer and in the autumn. Did UNPROFOR not see this? One photograph shows UNPROFOR troops alongside a heavily armed Serbian armored vehicle. Therefore, they cannot say that they did not know that the Serbs in the "Krajina" had not been disarmed. [passage omitted]

[Butkovic] Croatia has been accused of not wanting to implement the decisions of the UN Security Council's Resolution 802. What exactly are these decisions and which ones will Croatia implement?

[Milas] The Resolution calls for the withdrawal of the Croatian Army from all of the newly liberated territories and the simultaneous disarming of the Serbian rebels. Croatia however, cannot allow a new occupation of its territory. The Serbs in the "Krajina" have established a greater Serbian state within Croatia which is totally illegal, not only from our standpoint, but also in respect to UN decisions and those of other international bodies. Croatia has been internationally recognized within the borders of the Socialist Republic of Croatia because it is the former republic's legal successor. Therefore, no one can dispute its sovereignty within these borders.

The UN Security Council's Resolution 802 was drafted in order to protect the peace process and to help alleviate the tension. It requests the withdrawal of the Croatian Army from the liberated territories around Zadar along with the simultaneous disarming of all paramilitary formations, including those posing as police. We are ready to comply and we have said so. However, this does not mean that once we withdraw, our authority over this territory ceases. On the contrary.

[Butkovic] On Sunday, 31 January, Mr. Thornberry announced that UNPROFOR was returning to the area around Zadar. Does this mean that they will take up positions along the new demarcation line?

[Milas] UNPROFOR has still not filed an official request or proposal regarding its return to the Zadar area. When we receive such a proposal, we will behave in accordance with our international obligations, but also in accordance with our state interests.

[Butkovic] Where does UNPROFOR stand in respect to Peruca? Will they once again take control of the dam?

[Milas] I have nothing against UNPROFOR taking over control of the Peruca dam. However, the Peruca area is included in the "pink zone" and we will certainly not allow it to revert back to its former status, thus allowing the chetniks to return. [passage omitted]

[Butkovic] Can you tell us anything about the Serbian military forces in the Krajina?

[Milas] I do not have any very precise information. However, I do know that the Serbs have mobilized all of the able population and that there are volunteers coming in from Serbia and Bosnia. All the heavy weaponry is on alert. Now they are threatening that they are ready to launch a massive attack on all targets within range in the South Sector and in the other three sectors.

[Butkovic] Will Croatia extend UNPROFOR's mandate?

[Milas] In principle, we have nothing against UNPROFOR remaining in certain parts of Croatia. I repeat that UNPROFOR played a huge and significant role in stopping the war in Croatia last year. If UNPROFOR can implement the Vance plan in its entirety, which entails demilitarizing the UNPA [United Nations Protected Areas] zones, making possible the return of the refugees and the establishing of legal authority, Croatia will support the extension of the UN Forces mandate. However, they must get to work without further delay.

[Box, p 6]

[Milas] "Hadzic [leader of the Krajina Serbs] of course, is lying. The Serbs tried to drag out every serious talk we ever had regarding the construction of the Maslenica Bridge. In this way, they tried to get the Croatian leadership to acknowledge them as equal partners in the negotiations, as partners who have state legitimacy."

Daily Examines Juka Prazina's Movements

AU1602120593 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 93 p 7

[Reprot by I. Herceg and T. Bradvica: "Prazina Is Only an Excuse"]

[Text] Mostar—The move of Jusuf-Juka Prazina, a man who until yesterday was defending Sarajevo, to units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and his arrival in Mostar has disturbed relations in the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina [BH Army] far more than relations between the HVO and the BH Army, which are conditioned above all by the relations among the Muslim and the Croatian units in central Bosnia. Who in fact is Prazina? It is true that the people from Hercegovina are not very familiar with this figure, except that they have heard of his being the legendary Sarajevo defender, stories about whom have been broadcast even by CNN, the BBC, and other foreign broadcast corporations. The people of Sarajevo, those who remained in their town and also those who fled to Croatia, still celebrate him, although they know all his Sarajevo adventures.

He himself rarely discussed conflicts that arose several months previously within the BH Army, and neither did the commanders in the Sarajevo Staff of the BH Army. Nevertheless, the Sarajevo media suddenly reported on the charge brought against him, which specified theft, car-smuggling, drug-dealing...as reasons, and that he should be immediately taken into custody. In a short phone conversation with HVO Brigadier Ivica Primorac, we wanted to find out what was actually going on with Prazina. Primorac said that the BH Army had demanded Prazina's extradition, but he also underlined that the charges against him must first be proved.

It seems that the Staff of the BH Army wanted to use the conflict with Prazina to square old accounts, but also to strike a blow at the HVO, which "protects criminals." They have already done it through the media, which have claimed from the very beginning that the BH Army is "the only protector of Muslims." Everything leads to the conclusion that mutual conflicts, extradition requests, clashes...are actually needed by individuals who do not want to see a settlement of Muslim-Croatian relations in Herceg-Bosnia. On the contrary. Why? That is not hard to figure out, if one knows that the Muslim-Croatian conflicts, even armed clashes, are useful only to the aggressor.

Federal

Clinton Plan for Bosnia Viewed

AU1302171693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Slavoljub Susic commentary]

[Text] Expounding on the plan by President Clinton, Secretary of State Warren Christopher pointed at humanitarian and strategic reasons for Washington's involvement in finding a way for peace in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. He particularly stressed the message to the Muslims, Croats, and Serbs that the only way of solving their clashes is through negotiations, for whose success all three sides bear equal responsibility. He also stressed the readiness of the United States to work actively together with the United Nations and NATO on the preparation of a peace plan and, once it is achieved, to participate with its armed forces if the need arises for military action, including consultations with allies, particularly with Russian President Yeltsin in seeking a generally acceptable peaceful solution.

President Clinton's plan was welcomed by the European allies and Moscow with visible relief, particularly as the months-long effort of Cyrus Vance and David Owen has been validated by the mere fact that their proposal for Bosnia-Hercegovina is still in circulation. The proposal consists of constitutional principles, a plan of military disengagement, and proposed maps for territorial partition of the three ethnic communities. It appears that there will be much haggling over the maps, since there are attempts to take from the Serbs a significant part of the territory to which they have ancient claims. The satisfaction of the Europeans is reflected in the fact that the United States would, if the need arose, send its soldiers into the Bosnian trenches, and thus take over part of the burden of implementing the expected agreement.

Military experts in London estimate that another 10,000 to 15,000 soldiers would have to be engaged on top of the existing 20,000 in the former Yugoslavia, 5,000 of which should be Americans. The American plan is, at least in words, accepted by all three sides in the war—even by the Muslim community leader Alija Izetbegovic, even though he did not get the lifting of the arms embargo or the expected military intervention against the members of the Orthodox Church. How sincere he was can be seen in his latest scheme: the proclamation of a general hunger strike of all Sarajevo citizens in order, as he puts it, to draw the attention of the world to the suffering of the Muslims in eastern Bosnia, even though it is a well-known fact that it is his own mujaheddin who have launched a massive military offensive there and are conducting ethnic cleansing of the Serbian villages.

The decision by the U.S. Government to take active and direct part in the peace talks on ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina has been welcomed by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which at the same time expressed regret at the unjustified threats to toughen the measures for implementing the sanctions against our country. Our sincere efforts and contribution to the peace process have obviously not been taken into consideration, which can also be seen in the attempt at legalizing the right to intervention in Kosovo, under the excuse of protecting the human rights of the allegedly endangered Shiptars [derogatory name for Albanians].

One should most certainly keep in mind while evaluating Clinton's plan all the pressure exerted by various hawks from the previous administration and the other like-minded ones from the large family of Islamic countries. Thus, the document contains sharp rhetoric and diplomatic caution. We should, however, believe the American President when, expounding on his plan, he says that the Americans have not taken on a war in the former Yugoslavia, but are trying to help in finding an agreement on peace and to participate in its implementation.

Kontic Claims Support for Objectives

LD1602170093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Podgorica, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Prime Minister-Designate Radoje Kontic stated in Podgorica today that he has received support for his program, but a full agreement on government composition has not been reached. Kontic stated this at a news conference held in Podgorica, following two days of consultations with representatives of the Montenegrin authorities, opposition parties, experts, and economists.

According to Kontic, he has gained support for all his strategic objectives: To lift the sanctions; to re-integrate the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] into the international community; to halt negative economic tendencies, which would include introducing an anti-inflation program; and to create a modern, law-governed, and welfare state. Certain differences surfaced regarding the content, pace, and manner of realizing these objectives, Kontic said, adding that this referred above all to macroeconomic policy and the constitution of a joint state. According to Kontic, a common if not a single macroeconomic policy must be conducted at the federal level. Regarding the constitution of a new state, Kontic said that opinions ranged from the need to form a unitary state to the desirability of forming a confederation. This, he believes, is normal, since various political parties have different political views.

It is encouraging, Kontic added, that everyone agreed that the functions that republics transferred to the federation in the FRY Constitution must be carried out at the federal level. This means that conflicts between the republican and federal constitutions ought to be resolved in favor of the federal constitution.

Kontic recalled that he will reveal his program and government at the next session of the federal parliament, scheduled for 25 February.

Cosic Advisers Sue Seselj Over Allegations

AU1602144893 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 93 p 2

[G. Susa report: "Cosic's Advisers Sue Seselj"]

[Text] Professor Svetozar Stojanovic and Dragoslav Rancic, advisers to FRY President Dobrica Cosic, have taken legal action against Vojislav Seselj for criminal libel.

This was disclosed to journalists by Rancic, and he also stressed that if Stojanovic and he had not been in public office, they would not have cared for Seselj's nonsensical views. "However, since we are Cosic's advisers, Seselj's statements can make people think that Cosic is surrounded by unreliable people—and that is the reason for taking this legal action. Our lawyer is Sava Andjelkovic, and we base our charge on Seselj's statement issued after the incident on 8 January in the Federation Palace, when he said that Stojanovic and I were U.S. agents. He has brought up these same accusations several times at news conferences and in interviews, particularly in the interview with the Montenegrin POBJEDA, and since you have already written about it, and signed your articles, I have invited some of you to be our witnesses. With trust in your conscience, I hope that you will appear in court, if summoned," Rancic said. Rancic also stated that, since Stojanovic's and his dignity and reputation were harmed, they demand damages of 50 million dinars each, and Seselj, when he loses the case, should pay that sum to the Belgrade Children's Hospital.

Repeatedly pointing out that this is a private action, Rancic expressed his disappointment that no one has reacted to such assaults of Seselj's, in particular among the democratic forces. "I cannot understand that if the head of state is called a liar, neither the public prosecutor nor the minister of justice reacts, which means that, actually, the institutions of the system that are supposed to protect it do not react," Rancic said.

On the question of whether President Cosic also intends to sue Seselj, Rancic answered that he does not. "How do you expect Cosic to take legal action against somebody that he until yesterday protected for democratic reasons, and today the same person returns the favor with such a blow. In the kind of rustic attitude displayed by Seselj, a foreign agent is anybody who speaks a foreign language," Rancic said caustically.

As for what will happen if Seselj does not respond to the court's summons, pleading immunity as an assembly representative, Rancic answered briefly: "That would show that he has no evidence to support what he said."

[Box, p 2]

"I Believe in Our Magistrates"

The lawyer Sava Andjelkovic told BORBA: "We want to believe in our magistrates.

"If Seselj really has evidence that Stojanovic and Rancic are U.S. agents and foreign hirelings, then he will certainly not use his immunity as an assembly representative, and I believe that he will not evade appearing in court. That is his duty, because the people, both Seselj's voters and other citizens, have the right to know the truth. However, if Seselj uses his immunity, that will arouse suspicion about his statements. I believe profoundly that Seselj is a patriot, and that he is going to help even me, because I would not like to represent U.S. spies."

General Discusses Army Transformation

AU1202102393 Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 93 pp 6,7

[Interview with Major General Dusan Samardzic, commander of the Nis Corps, by Zika Antic; place and date not given: "We Are Returning to the Traditions of Our People"]

[Text] [Antic] The corps you command is a large unit, with garrisons scattered over a wide area. How do you manage to integrate them into an integrated force always ready to cut important strategic lines?

[Samardzic] It depends on several important factors. First of all, the members of the corps are determined to defend the country from attacks on its freedom and integrity. Under the present circumstances, our people are even more motivated because of the permanent, rude, and unprovoked pressures and threats of military intervention, which would—if it comes to it—set in motion an unprecedented avalanche of resistance. In such a case, no power could break our resistance, no matter how strong and what its aim would be. Apart from that, the members of our units have achieved a high level of professional skills. They are prepared to endure the strains of all combat activities, in all the circumstances which a war would cause. The third factor will be our weapons and combat systems, as well as our readiness to use our means to the best of our knowledge and to integrate them into a single defense system. Furthermore, we would fight in geographical and meteorological conditions very well known to us, which is a great advantage compared with any aggressor. And, last but not least, we would have the traditional support of our people, which we have good reason to count on.

[Antic] What about the members of your garrison?

[Samardzic] The command of the corps consists of capable, young patriots. This also applies to all our officers. They know very well how to coordinate their work to make the corps a fist ready to strike back, although we would not like this to happen. We are, like our nation, very peaceful. In other words, we are not going to endanger anyone's freedom, but we are going to defend our own. The history of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples is full of examples of this. We hope that this is also known to people with dishonest motives.

According to our tradition, we shall welcome our friends with bread and salt, but our enemies with sword and shield.

War Experiences in Military Training

[Antic] General, we learned that the Yugoslav Army has introduced a new and modern, but shorter military training. What does it consist of?

[Samardzic] The professionalism in the Yugoslav Army primarily consists of personnel highly qualified in carrying out defense tasks. This can only be achieved with modern training, which is in our Army still in the process of gradual transformation and adaptation. What is being adapted is not only the style, but also the concept of the training. We have been applying the latest war experiences, more self-reliance, and more incentives in planning, organization and realization of our military training. This self-reliance makes it much more important than before to search for solutions that will give the best results within the shortest period of time.

[Antic] Speaking of professionalism, you brought up a very important question—the transformation of the Yugoslav Army. This topic arouses interest, not only among Army members, but also among civilians. There are various interpretations, even misunderstandings of this notion. What do you understand by the process of transformation and what is its essence?

[Samardzic] It is logical that the question of the Yugoslav Army transformation has aroused interest, because it represents a new value in the structure of the armed forces. It is also quite logical that there are differences in the interpretation of this notion, as well as in the search for new solutions. The heart of the matter lies, in my opinion, in two important aspects: It is necessary to have at least 50 percent professional soldiers— members of the Yugoslav Army, who will be able to handle sophisticated military equipment and systems and treat their tasks professionally (the highest possible level of professional readiness). This is a process which is going to last for a long time, but we have to persevere if we want to have the staff with these characteristics. The second important aspect of the transformation is that we want to "depoliticize" and "de-ideologize" the Army. Its morale must be based on real patriotism, which is rooted in the freedom-loving traditions of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples, and not in the ideology of political parties.

We Are Not Ashamed of Our Past

[Antic] General, we are returning to the traditions of the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples, and your corps is situated on the source of these traditions.

[Samardzic] There were periods in our history when we were not allowed to mention the things most sacred to our people— commander in chief Sindjelic, for example. Everything boiled down to the National Liberation War (NOR) [during World War II], as if our history had begun 50 years ago. There is no country in this world with a richer war history, with more war victims and more self-sacrifice. Naturally, we do not want to forget the traditions of the National Liberation War, because it was a war the whole world led against a dark power—fascism. In other words, we want to live with the traditions of the National Liberation War, but without any ideology, only with the freedom-loving spirit of our people. The VOJSKA magazine helps us very much in this respect with its columns treating the history of the Serbian and Montenegin peoples in their fight for freedom.

We do not want to deny that we used to be a one-party system army. Why should we be ashamed of that? It was another era, and we were a part of it. We do not miss it, although many people lived better in those times, myself included. We were well off, respected and highly thought of. Today we have to try to restore our lowered esteem. I am sure that nobody misses communism any longer. The people are returning to their traditions and religion. The times will come when an officer is going to ask you for a day off because of his "Slava" [Serbian family festival for its patron saint], and you are going to say: "Go and celebrate your Slava as your parents and grandparents did."

[Antic] Is there a difference between those officers of the Nis Corps who have taken part in the present war and those who have not? Do they enjoy a different status?

[Samardzic] Some of our officers have been through all the horrors of this war. Some of them bravely took part in war operations in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, and some of them were transferred together with the Macedonian units. Others have in the last two years worked on various tasks directly connected to the events on the territory of the former Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, including the supply of war units with men and equipment. That is why we do not make any distinction between our officers. We respect our comrades, who bravely and honestly defended our freedom. With profound respect we remember our friends who have been killed in this war. We pay special attention to their families. In any case, we respect the work of our friends, who, owing to circumstances, have not been in battle, but have accomplished various tasks necessary for the functioning of our units at the front.

Pressure of the Homeless

[Antic] Our magazine, as well as many dailies, is full of advertisements for the "exchange of apartments." Military personnel and civilians working for the Yugslav Army very often want to move to Nis. Can it be concluded that you have to cope with numerous housing and other problems concerning your garrison?

[Samardzic] According to the decision of the commander of the Third Military Region, the headquarters of the Nis Corps is at the same time the headquaraters of the Nis Garrison, and this is our big obligation. Many

people who worked for the Army of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, either as professionals or as civilians, and had to leave their place of residence in other republics, want to move to Nis. The pressure on apartments in Nis is very great, and our reserves are very small. Approximately 1,300 families whose members work for the Yugoslav Army do not have apartments. Many families have not only lost their apartments, but also their movable property. In this way, they have practically become refugees. We have more than 550 families with this status in this garrison, apart from 750 families who did not have an apartment before this war. Now it is very difficult to build new apartment houses and this makes the situation even more complicated. We are trying to find solutions to this problem, but we cannot solve all of the problems, and besides, the apartments we find are very often inappropriate. I would like to point out that many families are living at a subsistence level, which also affects the work of our officers.

[Antic] General, one of the topics of current interest within the process of transformation is that of new uniforms; opinions range from traditional to very modern. If you had to decide, which would you choose?

[Samardzic] The members of the Yugoslav Army, and this also includes my corps, are very young people. As far as their clothing is concerned, I would respect their wishes. They should decide what kind of uniform—as a symbol of the profession they chose—they would like to wear. I personally think that the uniform should combine modern and traditional elements, it should be nice and practical, made of a material that meets esthetic and health criteria. The uniform also motivates young people to choose this profession, they have to be proud of it. It is clear, though, that costs also have to be taken into consideration ....

[Antic] To what extent does the fact that the commander of the Nis Corps was a famous athlete—a soccer player in the "Morava" team from Jagodina, among other sports—influence this aspect of life in the military units, and in this way also the combat readiness of the corps?

[Samardzic] We in the Nis Corps Headquarters know each other very well. This is a result of good contacts, which are, in our opinion, necessary for the morale in the Army. Therefore I am sure that my friends know something about my athletic activities in my youth. On the other hand, I do not think it is necessary that everybody bowls if the commander bowls, or that everybody plays soccer only because the commander plays it.... I think that sports are very important for combat readiness, because they improve the psychcological and physical condition, which is very important in carrying out military tasks. It is with good reason that physical education plays a very important role in the new military training and we have to do our best in order to meet the requirements.

[Box, p 7]

The Lucky Tank Number 19113

Major General Dusan Samardzic was born in the village of Kraljica, in the municipality of Srbica, previously the district of Kosovska Mitrovica, on 30 April 1939. He attended all the military academies, including the Military Academy for Ground Forces, specializing in armored units, and then attended the Academy for Commanding Officers and the School of National Defense. He began his military career as a platoon commander in the company of the then Captain 1st Class Zivota Panic, now the commander-in-chief of the Yugoslav Army, with tank number 19113. The same tank waited for him when he was appointed regimental commander, and brigade commander later on. He has been stationed in Banja Luka, Pristina, Kumanovo, Nis, and Belgrade. To some of the garrisons he has returned several times. He lived 12 long years separated from his family....

Air Force Commander Confident About Defense

AU1302202593 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Feb 93 p 7

["Exclusive" interview with Colonel General Bozidar Stevanovic, commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, by Miroslav Lazanski; place and date not given: "General Stevanovic: 'I Would Not Recommend That Anyone Test Our Weapons'"]

[Text] While the diplomatic game concerning war and peace in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina is going on in New York and while new warships are coming into the Adriatic, the Yugoslav Army is in a state of increased combat readiness. Of all the Yugoslav Armed Forces, the Air Force and Air Defense represent the prime strategic weapons for defense of the country. This is the part of the Army that is supposed to take the first strike by a potential aggressor and respond by aiming at enemy targets.

In an exclusive interview with POLITIKA, Colonel General Bozidar Stevanovic, commander of these forces, explains the situation in the Air Force and Air Defense.

[Lazanski] What is your opinion about the present international military situation concerning Yugoslavia? Is the danger of foreign military intervention greater or lesser than before?

[Stevanovic] Throughout the Yugoslav crisis, especially since the beginning of the war, the political and military pressures on Yugoslavia have intensified considerably. We must not fool ourselves into thinking that the pressure is easing up, although that occasionally appears to be the case. This can probably be explained by the fact that the exertion of pressure has been shifting among many European and non-European countries. In other words, the source of the pressure is not always the same, but this pressure is nevertheless constantly being applied

against us as the victim. In the last few days we have been witnessing open aggression by Muslim forces on the borders and on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Army decisively and effectively responded to this aggression.

The latest Croatian military aggression against the Serbs in Krajina—and this happened at the time when some kind of peaceful solutions were in sight—made the military situation even more complex and uncertain in this area and beyond. This aggression is in fact a well thought-out attempt to draw Yugoslavia into the war and thus annul all peace efforts by our leaders in Yugoslavia, which would also benefit all Serbs outside Yugoslavia.

We Must Not Rule Out the Military Option

[Stevanovic continues] Generally speaking, the military situation concerning Yugoslavia is a result of political processes and the situation in the international community, that is to say of the dominant interests, or of the interests that are trying to become dominant in this community. Taking this into consideration, we must not rule out at all the military option as a serious threat to our country, although it is difficult to clearly define it as being greater or lesser than before.

Our leadership has pointed out several times already that military intervention will not solve any of the problems in the former Yugoslavia; on the contrary, it carries a risk of spreading the war, not only to the Balkans, but also to other areas.

[Lazanski] What is the state of combat readiness in the Air Force and the Air Defense?

[Stevanovic] The Air Force and Air Defense are highly prepared and determined to respond to any aggression with all available means. The guarantees for this are the excellent training of our units, the combat experience of our pilots, the young and highly professional commanders, and, to a great extent, modern combat equipment [sredstva], the characteristics and efficiency of which are well known to our enemies.

[Lazanski] Would the actions of the Air Force and Air Defense be restricted only to defensive operations in case of outside military intervention against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia? How would you treat the territories of the neighboring countries which would allow foreign forces to attack Yugoslavia from their territory and air space?

[Stevanovic] Depending on the situation, the Air Force and the Air Defense would be engaged optimally, resorting to all types of operations, according to all defined tasks and in accordance with the doctrine of deployment [doktrina upotrebe]. As far as the second part of the question is concerned, I must say that any country that allows the aggressor to use its territory, air space, or seas for an attack on Yugoslavia would run the risk of being considered an aggressor as well.

[Lazanski] Do we have enough offensive military systems to serve as deterrents? What are the ranges of these systems?

[Stevanovic] We have combat systems which are very effective under these conditions. They have different ranges, depending on their use. In any case, they are significant, and all potential aggressors have to bear this in mind. I would not recommend that anyone test the efficacy and range of both our defensive and offensive systems.

Manufacturing of New Planes Is Resuming

[Lazanski] Are our military airports being enlarged, strengthened, or improved? Do you, as the commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, think that we have a sufficient number of airports?

[Stevanovic] We inherited the aviation infrastructure from the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This infrastructure was developed much less in the eastern part than in the western part of the former Yugoslavia.

In our view, the use of the Air Force and Air Defense resources means the use of the existing infrastructure, including a number of completed [izgradjen] airports that would be used to the maximum extent. Of course, every commander, including myself, would feel much better, if he had more, better-equipped airports. Building new airports with artificial screens [vestacki zastor] is a long and very expensive process. That is why we decided to improve the existing airports. Our aim is to protect people and equipment from air attack, and carry out all necessary preparations for speedy response to air attacks on runways and other vital airport facilities.

[Lazanski] Are we regularly servicing our planes, including the MiG-21, MiG-29, and Orao? Are the facilities from the Zmaj Institute operational?

[Stevanovic] We are regularly servicing all types of aircraft according to our present needs. The loss of a part of our service facilities, primarily from the Zmaj Institute, which was an important link in the chain of servicing facilities, has been offset by other facilities. So far, we have managed to adhere to the necessary level of maintenance.

[Lazanski] Will manufacture of the G-4 and Orao planes be resumed? If yes, when? Are we able to do this now?

[Stevanovic] Yugoslavia has a long tradition in aviation and in aircraft manufacturing. Besides, we have the appropriate specialists and manufacturing facilities, so we can expect that manufacturing is going to be resumed soon. The problem now is not whether or not we are able to do so, but the finances necessary to commence manufacturing. Apart from that, as long as the embargo on purchasing abroad is in effect, we cannot import the components we need.

[Lazanski] A question concerning the future of the Air Force and Air Defense: Which aircraft shall we take as

the universal supersonic plane after 2000? Is the Soviet offer for cooperation and manufacturing of the Su-37 from earlier times still interesting?

[Stevanovic] The future of our Air Force and Air Defense, and all questions which arise from that, depend on numerous factors that I would not like to explain now. Our country is still under economic blockade and we do not know how long it will last. That is why we have used this period to study these problems, but no decision has been made so far.

"Top Gun" in Our Style

[Lazanski] Are you considering an Air Force school, like the U.S. "Top Gun" school? Do our pilots need more elitism in their treatment, uniforms, and general financial position?

[Stevanovic] Considering the size of our Air Force, as compared to the U.S., there is no need for a special Air Force school. Apart from that, we do not have the conditions to do that. Air combat is part of the regular pilot training, and it has been intensified in our units lately. In the future we will try to display this kind of complicated training to the public, because it is very attractive. That is also why movies such as "Top Gun" have always been a success.

As far as elitism concerning treatment, uniforms, badges, and financial status for our pilots are concerned, it is impossible to solve all these problems at once to the satisfaction of all the members of the Air Force. There is a relatively long period behind us which was dominated by wrong ideas about elitism, professionalism, the role of the army in a society, and many other topics. All these things have to be changed gradually in order to avoid the mistakes we made in the past.

At present we have to share the destiny of our people, who live in very difficult circumstances. That is why our pilot who flies a $20 million aircraft earns only 200 German marks, of which he will have very little left once he pays for a rented room in Belgrade. This is the reality we are confronted with, and therefore it is very difficult to make the changes you just mentioned.

[Lazanski] Are you satisfied with the military budget the Air Force and the Air Defense receive? What can you do with this money?

[Stevanovic] We live in a time in which the discrepancy between our needs and the budget we get has grown bigger. The budget we get enables us to cover priorities, in other words, we can maintain the state of combat readiness and the necessary standard of living of our soldiers and officers.

[Lazanski] Are you going to change the strategy for the use of the Air Force and Air Defense now that the territory of our country has become smaller?

[Stevanovic] We shall have to do that, not only because of the different territory, but also because of a series of other circumstances the Yugoslav Army and its Air Force and Air Defense are confronted with. How the Air Force and Air Defense are to be used is decided by military experts and by the highest political authorities. From this point of view, this topic is not interesting to our readers.

[Lazanski] Are we going to build an underground airport like the one in Bihac, that is to say like the one there was in Bihac?

[Stevanovic] Wishes and even plans already exist, but this depends on our financial resources. I have to point out, though, that most of our airports also have underground and other similar facilities for the protection of people and equipment. The underground facility at the Bihac airport was the largest, but not the only one of this kind.

[Lazanski] What do you think about the necessity to modernize the Air Force and the Air Defense?

[Stevanovic] The latest wars and military interventions have all been to a great extent based on airborne operations; ground forces have only had the mopping-up role. This enables the aggressor to reduce casualties. This trend is probably going to continue. Therefore we have to think about how to successfully defend ourselves. Since the Air Force and Air Defense are very important, as I said, their modernization is necessary. No matter how difficult this might be under the present circumstances, we have to keep up with the modern technology and modernize our units.

The 80-year tradition of the Air Force proves that we have always followed international trends, and we shall try to do so in the future. To be more precise, I do not see the modernization of the Air Force and Air Defense only from the point of view of purchasing new equipment, but also from a series of other aspects, which should change the approach to this problem.

[Box, p 7]

Commander Who Is Still Flying

Colonel General Bozidar Stevanovic is the only Air Force and Air Defense commander in the world who is still flying supersonic military aircraft of the MiG-21 and MiG-29 types.

Before being appointed commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, Stevanovic was commander of the 1st Air Force Corps. He remained lieutenant general longer than usual, much longer than other generals, so that it can be stated that the highest military officials of that time kept Stevanovic at the rank of lieutenant general because of some of his opinions, which were at that time not very popular.

Serbia

Draskovic on U.S. Reception of Bosnian Plan

AU1602162593 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 93 p 5

[Branka Mitrovic report on a statement by Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), to BORBA in Washington; date not given: "Clinton Will Consider the SPO Plan of Division of Bosnia-Hercegovina"]

[Text] What Draskovic discussed with Mr. Thomas Niles, assistant secretary of state, Mrs. Hall, head of the Europe Department of the U.S. National Security Council, and many other officials (according to most recent reports, he talked to a large group of influential congressmen and senators), and what "caught Clinton's eye," Draskovic reported on yesterday in a telephone call exclusive to readers of BORBA.

"I believe, in view of the attention I aroused, that what I said will not remain fruitless. The plan for the division of Bosnia-Hercegovina that we discussed is, actually, the plan by the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] in its original form from 1990. I told the gentlemen from the U.S. Administration that Bosnia-Hercegovina should be divided into the Cazin and Banja Luka provinces, western Hercegovina (on the right bank of the River Neretva), eastern Hercegovina and eastern Bosnia (as one province), and central Bosnia, with Sarajevo the capital of all the peoples living in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The second part of the plan elicited considerable interest. It suggests a certain degree of cantonization within those aforementioned provinces. Every Serbian village or town within a Muslim or Croatian province should be granted a special status, and vice versa. The territory would thus resemble an ethnic map reminiscent of a leopard's skin, while the results of ethnic cleansing would be reversed, because all the refugees could return to their homes.

"I stressed that all this is, however, a temporary solution, and a lasting peace can be reached only when the peoples' spirits cool down. This will happen only when Serbia and Croatia finally establish their borders, and when negotiations about establishing a new union composed of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and the Vardar Macedonia start. I also explained that the Serbian Krajina [in Croatia] should be joined to the Banja Luka Krajina, while western Hercegovina should be attached to Croatia. My impression is that many American officials are thinking the same, because this proposal is actually a realization of their old formula "four plus two," Draskovic explained.

However, the leader of the SPO considers that no concrete actions in that direction will be taken, at least by the Americans, while the present Belgrade regime is in power.

"It is quite pathetic that the Zagreb regime was not regarded in a negative light as well, but they spoke of the Serbian authorities as a communist-fascist and gangster regime. They are informed about the details of everything, they even know that the Serbian regime is financing the anti-Yeltsin opposition in Russia with money deposited in Cyprus. I also found out in Washington that Belgrade and Serbia have electricity shortages because it has been sold to another foreign country, probably Bulgaria! And when I defended the Serbian people, the congressmen asked me how dare I demand the restoration of relations with a country in whose assembly one can hear statements like "everything that is democracy... is a lie, and therefore it must be uprooted," and that such things are even applauded! I nevertheless appealed to them to separate the people from the regime, and to lift the sanctions. I explained that the sanctions present no problem for Milosevic and his gang, they even profit from the sanctions with the help of the Mafia. They showed understanding for all these facts after I had explained them, and my impression is that they are ready to lift the sanctions the moment the Belgrade regime falls. Because, as they told me, they consider the dictatorship in Serbia to be far worse than anywhere in Africa. They are shocked at what is happening to the representatives of the Democratic Movement of Serbia, and at the president signing bills that had been published before they were passed. You cannot imagine how embarrassed I felt at certain moments, but I still tried to convince them that democracy in Serbia is growing stronger and stronger," Draskovic concluded in his short call from Washington.

Minister: Bosnian Serbs Released Most Prisoners

LD1202232593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2216 GMT 12 Feb 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, February 12 (TANJUG)—Health Minister of the Serb Republic Dragan Kalinic said on Friday [12 February] that only the Serb side in former Bosnia-Hercegovina fulfilled its obligations and released 5,000 prisoners from their camps, while the Croat and the Moslem sides released only 400 people.

Kalinic met with French Health Minister Bernard Kouchner in Belgrade today.

Kalinic reminded Kouchner of the recommendation signed in Geneva on October 1, 1992, by all three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina (Serbs, Moslems and Croats) on the release of civilians from Sarajevo and other towns in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but which has not been realized to this day.

Kouchner said that his new peace mission would be successful if all three warring sides released their prisoners on the principle of all for all.

"Serbs have so far in all their actions shown full cooperation, and they are ready to continue doing so, but only provided the Croat and Moslem sides finally start respecting agreements which they signed," Kalinic said.

Volunteers Leave Nis for Serb Krajina

LD1302111693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0853 GMT 13 Feb 93

[Text] Nis, 13 Feb (TANJUG)—The fifth group of volunteers left Nis for Serb Krajina today, the headquarters of the Serbian Radical Party for southern Serbia announced. More than 300 volunteers from this part of the republic have gone to fight in Krajina. The party war headquarters will continue to organize fresh groups of volunteers, who will put themselves under the command of the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina.

UN Aid Convoy Leaves Belgrade for Gorazde

LD1602143793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Feb (TANJUG)—A UN humanitarian convoy left Belgrade for Gorazde this morning with about 70 tons of aid, TANJUG was told at the UN office in Belgrade.

An aid convoy for Cerska carrying 64 tons of food and medicines, which left Pancevo on Sunday (14 February), is still stranded near Mali Zvornik (in Serbia), the High Commission says. Judith Kumin, head of the UN Belgrade office, discussed with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic (in Bosnia-Hercegovina), the problem the convoy faces, and Karadzic promised to do everything within his power to secure the convoy's passage, the Commission says.

Opposition Considers Setting Parliament Mandates

AU1602151993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Feb 93 p 13

[Interview with Dr. Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Executive Board of the Democratic Party, by Dj. Bisansc; place and date not given: "The Democratic Movement of Serbia Will Come Back"]

[Text] [Bisansc] What are the motives for the decision of the Democratic Party [DP] to return to parliament, and what does the DP expect from the move?

[Djindjic] With our decision to return to parliament we kept in mind that for us it is acceptable either to renounce the mandates or ask ourselves if this is the moment parliamentarism looses all sense. We still do not have a definitive attitude about the matter, and we are willing to discuss it with other parties, provided that withdrawal from parliament is a definite attitude. We gave the Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS] two or three signals, and held several talks. I personally spoke twice to the spokesman of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], and once with the academician Gasic, and I received information that that is not the way DEPOS sees the issue, and that it has chosen a third way. They will not take part in plenary sessions, but will come to parliament regularly, work in their representative club, maintain office hours, and so forth. When they stated that, we said that postponement was no decision for us, and that we should wait for the definite decision. If it comes to renouncing the mandates, then we can say with great probability that we shall join them.

The impression that the opposition has one foot in parliament and the other foot out is very hard to explain to the citizens. The people have no patience and understanding for subtle ways of protest. However, there was no moodiness, or original mutual accusations. We believe that lingering about parliament with one foot inside it is quite harmful, and DEPOS believes that a return to parliament is harmful. The only thing that comes in consideration for me, personally, is renunciation of the mandates, because I could not stand insinuations about the privileges I am entitled to, and that I actually do not determine.

[Bisansc] From the DP leader's statement that he can leave parliament only at bayonet point, one could gain the impression that the party thinks the authorities actually want to see the opposition out of parliament, while the others can interpret that as the DP's avarice.

[Djindjic] We have been in parliament for almost two years, and our presence there resulted in gaining no power. All speculations about our presence in parliament being the way toward the power are wrong. However, the parties' presence in parliament makes it difficult to push them into secrecy. Our presence in parliament is a sign that there still exist more parties in Serbia. If the authorities want to throw us out of parliament, we shall fight, but if we realize that parliament is not a parliament, then we shall leave it ourselves.

Some people in the administration would, of course, like to have some flowers around the house, but basically, at the core of the establishment are people who cannot stand the opposition. For people like Milomir Minic, who regrets that the opposition is not in parliament, we can say that they are the past, and those like Seselj are the future of socialism.

[Bisansc] The DP's sticking to parliament can be only a stage setting for the parliament majority, but could it be helpful for the affirmation of the opposition?

[Djindjic] I am sure DEPOS will come back to parliament. If DEPOS decides that the mandates should definitely be renounced, I shall support such a decision. DEPOS has left a reserve, and that is the possibility that the Supreme Court makes the decision, and I believe that the people from DEPOS deliberately failed to say that only a positive decision of the Supreme Court means a return to parliament. It seems to me that this is only a brief episode, but even as such, it must be a lesson for us. Every decision must be well thought out, so that there is no chance of its being burdened with trivialities like daily wages, salaries, immunity,.... After all, we lost the elections because of trivialities.

Montenegro

Commentary Sees 'Total Conflict' as Likely

AU1702101693 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 93 pp 14, 15

[Article by Vladimir Jovanovic: "The Thunder of War"]

[Text] An analysis of the situation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is not very optimistic: everything points to a total conflict. By abandoning the prominent positions at Maslenica and Zemunik, the Serbs have partially stabilized the front in northern Dalmatia, but the Croatian offensive has not lessened because of Serbian retaliation, but because of the decision of the Croatian General Staff about the "fulfillment of restricted goals." Croatia has cleared a land passage towards its southern territory, but Knin remains the crucial traffic junction and the main railroad artery, the so-called Lika railroad....

At an electoral rally last week, Tudjman announced that he could determine the day and hour when Knin would once again be under Croatian sovereignty and that this would be "as soon as possible." Zagreb is probably encouraged by the power its army has demonstrated, and it believes that it can break the resistance of the Knin Serbs. According to Zagreb's estimates, there are not enough Serbs in Knin that they could hold on to the conquered territory.

Direction Zagreb?

Last week's press conference of the Serbian leader in Croatia, Goran Hadzic, partly explains Belgrade's tactics regarding the current conflict in northern Dalmatia. Hadzic said that the Croatian attack had been designed to draw the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into the conflict, despite the fact that a few days back, he had dramatically appealed to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's leadership to lend him military assistance. Belgrade estimates that its direct military assistance in Knin is at present not necessary, especially if the operations remain isolated on that portion of the front. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's involvement in the war is much more certain if conflicts break out in Slavonia. Moreover, it is highly unlikely that this involvement will be of an exclusively "defensive" nature. General Andrija Biorcevic, commander of the Yugoslav Army's Novi Sad Corps, publicly asked himself "... whether during a counterattack, it will be possible to restrain the forces of the Novi Sad Corps, since there is a tendency to go all the way to Zagreb."

There are serious indications that the Yugoslav Army has already crossed the border of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and that its infantry is involved in the fighting around the Drina River. In an interview for POLITIKA, General Nikola Mandaric, commander of the 1st Army's Headquarters, said: "Based on decisions made by the president of the Republic and the Supreme Defense Council, the Yugoslav Army has deployed a part of its troops on the right bank of the Drina River, where it is helping the Army of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] to protect the Serbian population from genocide and is at the same time successfully protecting the Yugoslav border along the Drina." Talking about the type of support in question, Mandaric said that it was a "certain support" ["odredjena podrska"]. With a powerful offensive and thanks to this "certain support", the Serbs have managed to recapture strategic locations in eastern Bosnia lost earlier this year.

The Montenegrin Position

It is estimated that with its operation in northern Dalmatia, Zagreb has forever lost the possibility of surprising the Serbian positions in Croatia, and that the Croats definitely do not have enough power to hold the front which runs all the way to Trebinje in the south, Karlovac in the west, and Baranja in the north. Especially in view of the escalation of conflicts between the Croats and the Muslims in central Bosnia.

MONITOR collocutor Ivan Stojanovic from the Institute for International Policy and Economy, believes that the entire situation will be more clear by the end of the week, when all sides will have to "put their cards on the table." He said that with its restrained attitude towards the conflicts in the Krajina, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had managed to avoid the consequences that might have followed on the part of the international community and he expressed skepticism towards the thesis that the international community is still compact. "The reemergence of cold war tones is becoming more and more current," claims Stojanovic.

Talking about the concentration of aircraft carriers in the Adriatic (the American John F. Kennedy, the British Ark Royal, the French Clemenceau, while the Spanish Principe de Asturias is on its way), MONITOR's collocutor did not exclude the possibility that their function was to realize the possible Security Council resolution about using force in the no-fly zone over Bosnia, but he was more inclined to believe the official version that their objective is to protect their troops who are under the flag of the United Nations.

With the escalation of the conflict, the "blue helmet" units are in a dangerous situation and it remains to be seen how long they will be able to go on fulfilling their role. There can be no doubt they will be the first to experience retribution if it comes to an international military intervention. It is possible that prior to the intervention, the UN Forces will be withdrawn. However, things have become too complicated for the outcome to be simple.

If a decision to withdraw the "blue helmets" from the territory of the former Yugoslavia, including the UN monitors on the Prevlaka, is made, then this will be a serious sign that the possibility of a new war on the so-called Dubrovnik front is very much a reality. The Serbian media have reported the concentration of Croatian Army units in the vicinity of the "yellow zone"

(the area west of the Molnut-Donja Ljuta-Gornja Ljuta-Dubravka line), but the Montenegrin police reported quite opposite information about "a normal state of affairs." This could be an indication of something, especially in view of increasing evidence that Montenegro has no intention of engaging in a new war with Croatia.

There are rumors that towards the end of last week there was a new cooling of relations between Belgrade and Podgorica. MONITOR's sources stress that the bone of contention is Montenegro's opposition to the Serbian law on the election of deputies for the Federal Assembly's Chamber of Republics and that Milosevic reacted stormily. It is possible that the success of the mobilization in Montenegro could come into question if the Montenegrin leadership does not agree to it. However, if Montenegrin territory is artificially drawn into the zone of war operations, this might change the situation.

A Choice of His Own

An unemotional military analysis yields an unemotional answer—the Croats have not the slightest interest in fighting with the Montenegrins and they certainly do not want to endanger the fate of Dubrovnik. Although for some time now Belgrade has been raising hell regarding the attack on the Trebinje municipality (!), the Croats have penetrated the city to a distance of about seven or eight kilometers from the city center only so that they could protect Dubrovnik from the Serbian artillery. But a conflict in the Dubrovnik-Novi-Trebinje triangle would now cause damage much greater than that in the fall of 1991, since there would be shelling of civilian settlements on both sides. As an additional effect, this war would make possible political changes in Podgorica, thereby bringing to power a puppet government absolutely loyal to Belgrade.

On the other hand, by insisting that the UN monitors stay in Prevlaka, Bulatovic could achieve international affirmation and request protection from the pressures from Belgrade. He has two choices: to remain Milosevic's war commissioner with a good chance of ending up on the Belgrade political dung heap, or to end the war pact with Serbia, proclaim Montenegrin independency and celebrate himself in true Cetinje fashion as the political successor of Nicholas I Petrovic [Montenegrin metropolitan and ruler b.1747 - d.1830].

The development of the situation indicates that the present relative truce will not hold for very long and that this, coupled with the internal pressure of Serbian political parties, is designed to draw Montenegro into the war. Once in it, Bulatovic's government would lose political control, become susceptible to blackmail and confirm its historical guilt.

Officers from Podgorica and their people in the north of the republic are also preparing to ambush Bulatovic. All this will lead him to a choice: war for the alliance of Serbian states or an independent Montenegro.

If he were to create a balance of propaganda accusations against Belgrade, Bulatovic would unite in a coalition his party, the Montenegrin opposition parties and the Muslim and Albanian parties. Militant groups would be isolated, they would be baffled by Montenegro's massive resistance to fight and bleed on account of the Belgrade Mafia brotherhood. A global Montenegrin antiwar policy leads to a boycott of the mobilization and to neutrality as the answer to the war campaign.

Judging by the look of it, the situation will become increasingly clear. Stojanovic believes that if the United Nations gives the sign for a military intervention on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, the western alliance will look for an immediate cause for its commencement. He supposes that this might come in the form of a violation of some decision prohibiting Belgrade's logistics support to the Serbian forces in Bosnia. Stojanovic believes that since this is unacceptable to Serbia, the West will take it as the reason to commence its military operation....

Many people are in a dilemma of whether there is going to be a military intervention, yet they do not see that far worse is the inevitability of a new war with Croatia.

They are once again spreading unjustified optimism.

Kosovo

Rugova Praises U.S. Stand on Kosovo

AU1602170693 Tirana ATA in English 1127 GMT 16 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 16 (ATA)—Kosovo living in peace under repression and threats of the open conflict of the Serbian war machine has been included this week in the American 6 point plan for the solution to the crisis in the territories of former Yugoslavia. This plan of President Clinton and of the U.S. Administration considers Kosovo as a very important question and it is treated in the third point. Along warnings for stronger economic sanctions towards Serbia, it says that the extension of the war in Kosovo will be prevented by economic and political pressure.

The Albanian political subjects and opinion supports and hails this American stand as an encouragement and protection for Kosovo. The Americans will not tolerate the intensification of the war in Kosovo and I think this is a concrete step showing the Serbian regime that Kosovo is not a plaything, the President of the Republic of Kosovo Ibrahim Rugova said at the latest press release in Pristina.

The Albanian opinion and the press in Kosovo consider the American plan also as a threat to the Serbian regime, which has increased state repression and terror and has concentrated great military and paramilitary forces in Kosovo. The situation there is becoming tenser and more dangerous by the repression under the pretext of arms searches and on the purpose of realising violent

ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The arms searches have assumed great and worrying proportions accompanied by police surrounding on the Albanian dwelling places, threats, home searches, maltreatments, beatings, and arrests.

Rugova Warns of Actions Against Rights Violations

AU1602172193 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Feb 93 p 5

[R. B. report: "A Political Solution or—the Worst"]

[Text] Pristina—Ibrahim Rugova, president of the "Kosovo Republic," announced yesterday that today he would ask the United Nations to put the Kosovo issue immediately on the Security Council's agenda. Rugova is convinced that the Security Council will "find a political solution to avoid the worst. If however, things go on in this way, conflicts are unavoidable."

At yesterday's press conference, Rugova said that incidents were imminent because the large police force had lately "stepped up the pressure: The president of the DSK's [Democratic Alliance of Kosovo] branch in Orahovac has been arrested, while the president of the Stimlja branch has been in prison since yesterday." The first incidents have already occurred in high schools, where "the police are press-ganging students for the army," said Rugova, and added that "Albanian houses and families are being searched for weapons and this is happening throughout Kosovo."

In answer to the question of whether in March, an all-Albanian unification assembly would be held in Tirana, Rugova said: "If anyone wants a pan-Albanian reconciliation or unification assembly, they should hold it. This does not bother us. A year ago we clearly stated that we want this to be based on a delegation system and that it should carry some weight. Therefore, whoever wants to go ahead with this, can do so."

One question addressed the issue of whether the Albanians were writing their own laws since they do not recognize Serbia's.

That was just a trade union phrase. What is involved are ordinary laws, not laws of violence of the kind that could be written by Albanians—was the answer. [paragraph as published]

Rugova Reports on Serbian Repression, Terror

AU1602153993 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 14 Feb 93

[Text] Tirana, February 14 (ATA)—The attitude maintained by the U.S. President Bill Clinton regarding the solution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia makes once again clear to the Serbian regime that it can not play with Kosovo as it likes. We are extremely worried because of the further intensification of police repression and state terror against the Albanians, just as it was the case with Petrove village of Shtime and that of Jabllanice of Ushjaka in Djakova, the President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said at the beginning of the DLK [Kosovo Democratic Alliance] press conference.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that through these repressive acts the Serbian regime seeks to frighten the Albanians and violently change the ethnic structure in Kosovo. On this occasion I call on the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to give up provocations against their Albanian co-citizens.

Responding to a reporter's question that what will the Albanian political parties do to prevent a probable outbreak of war in Kosovo, Dr. Rugova said: We are doing everything possible to prevent it happen, but it depends on the war machinery and on how far it will go in achieving its goals. It also depends on the international community's pressure on this machinery, a pressure which will surely be more powerful and determined.

Regarding the need to install UN troops in Kosovo, Dr. Rugova said: We have demanded such a thing earlier. Of importance is that the world is also becoming increasingly conscious of the need to install UN pro forces in Kosovo, he said.

Bukosi Urges Rugova, Cosja To End Split

AU1602153693 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Feb 93 p 12

[M. Laketic report: "Bukosi Makes Peace Between Rugova and Cosja"]

[Text] Pristina, 10 February— Seemingly innocent quarrels between the leader of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK], Ibrahim Rugova, and Academician Redzep Cosja, about different concepts regarding the separation of Kosovo from the FRY, have developed into serious clashes, which is quite obvious when one looks at the more and more explicit letters they are delivering each other through the ethnic Albanian press. Because, as FLJAJA, ZERI, and BUJKU comment, their mutual animosity has shaken the Kosovo public and divided ethnic Albanians into supporters of Rugova, the self-proclaimed president of the so-called Kosovo Republic, and the supporters of Cosja, the man considered to be the father of the nation, and creator of the ancient idea "all Albanians in a joint state."

Albanian President Sali Berisha has tried unsuccessfully several times—at the end of last year and the beginning of this—to close the breach between them, standing by Rugova's side. However, instead of putting off the "battles" with the opponents, at the end of last week Cosja appraised Berisha's favoring Rugova as the "manners of Leninist-Marxist successors," and even more explicitly reproached the president.

These clashes, which often give the impression they are fictitious, and designed by the aforementioned protagonists, were the reason for Bujar Bukosi, who calls himself

the prime minister of the "Kosovo Republic," to address the people with these words:

"The government of the Kosovo Republic demands the cooperation of all of you, regardless of your political colors, to prevent the inner deterioration from destroying us, something we have experienced many times in our history." Apart from this demand, Bukosi reminds ethnic Albanians that Serbia is allegedly striving to ethnically cleanse Kosovo of ethnic Albanians to "create a more advantageous reality for its other political actions."

Putting forward "Rugova's patriotic feelings," and crediting Cosja for "rousing the national awareness among the masses," self-proclaimed Prime Minister Bukosi further criticizes the young generation, because "preoccupied with their personal fates, and the fate of their families, they are unconsciously becoming the victims of the horrible scenario—national disintegration, because they are driven to leave Kosovo in these decisive times to earn their bread elsewhere." However, Bukosi, cherishing Rugova's patriotism, fails to scold him for making the majority of ethnic Albanians leave their jobs, forgetting the fact that they have to live on something.

From his "temporary" cabinet in Vienna, the "prime minister" demands of "political subjects, institutions, associations, and individuals to immediately return to Kosovo," with the remark that the "Kosovo government has identified all individuals that have left the country, and regularly keeps track of them." "However, we are able and have the strength to resist even this kind of evil, as well as to foil Serbia's plans and prove that we are worthy and capable of bringing about Kosovo's freedom and independence," Bukosi continued in a threatening tone.

Bukosi's message concludes with the demand—"No matter what your beliefs and political divisions, let yourself unite."